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ABSTRACT

A study of spontaneous language use by elementary school children and teachers in a wide range of classroom activities used a combination of observation, audiotaping, videotaping, and interviews to examine more closely the role of dialect diversity in elementary education. The study provides a more accurate and complete record of classroom life than previously provided as a framework for dialect interference study. The site school was in northeast Washington, District of Columbia; observation occurred in the kindergarten and fourth and sixth grades. The dialect spoken was Black English. The focus traditionally placed on children's language ability in the classroom was placed on language functions. Evidence of dialect interference in communication was not found, although a clear awareness of dialect diversity was found in both children and teachers. Also, a wider range of language functions and a greater volume of student talk occurred in settings where dialect features occur and appear to be acceptable. The results raise further questions about dialect use in the classroom, and further research is recommended. A bibliography is included, and appendices include interview schedules for each grade, an inventory of language functions, a protocol transcript, and the teacher interview questionnaire concerning language diversity and classroom discourse. (MSE)

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Language Diversity

and

Classroom Discourse

NIE-G-80-0072

by

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CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

A. BACKGROUND

On July 28, 1977, a suit was filed on the behalf of 15 preschool and elementary school children living in Ann Arbor, Michigan. The defendants in the case were the Ann Arbor School District Board and the Michigan State Board of Education, and it was alleged "that the children speak a version of 'black English', 'black vernacular', or 'black dialect' as their home and community language that impedes their equal participation in the instructional programs, and that the school has not taken appropriate action to overcome the barrier."[1]

The filing of the suit and the ensuing legal proceedings led to a re-examination of issues that had received a great deal of attention from linguists and educators in the mid-1960's. The focus of the attention was on the nature and the implications of dialect diversity in school settings. Research on the educational concerns of children and adolescents who are speakers of non-mainstream varieties of English has included methodologies for teaching standard English to non-standard speakers (Baratz and Shuy 1969; Fasold and Shuy 1970), examinations of sociolinguistic bias in testing (Wolfram 1976; Vaughn-Cooke 1979), discussions of the role of teacher-student interaction and of the need for teacher awareness of dialect diversity (Piestrup 1973; Hall 1980; Lewis 1980), and exploration of the concept of dialect interference in children's participation in the classroom (Piestrup 1973; Hall 1980; Lewis 1980).

The concept of dialect interference is intuitively very attractive, in that it would appear to be a sound and logical way

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[1] The Ann Arbor Decision: Memorandum Opinion and Order and the Educational Plan. Arlington, VA: Center for Applied Linguistics, 1980.

to characterize both the coming together of standard English and non-mainstream varieties of English in educational settings, and the apparent failure of speakers of non-mainstream varieties to function successfully in these educational settings. That is, if a child who is a speaker of a non-mainstream variety of English is not learning to read or write successfully in Standard English, it makes intuitive sense to look to the language forms, both standard and non-standard, and to the interaction between these forms, for an explanation of the failure. And this is precisely what a number of researchers have done.

However, an examination of the interference research reveals two points of direct relevance to the present study. The first point is that actual evidence for such interference is slim, although extensive research has been undertaken on the possible interference of dialect in the process of learning to read and write Standard English. The best assessment of the situation has been provided by William Hall, who states:

> A careful look at the evidence for dialect interference in reading, taken as a whole, does not adequately identify the sources of possible consequences; the available evidence is both inconclusive and conflicting. The research on which this evidence is based contains a number of methodological flaws which cast doubt on its validity. More importantly, it is quite likely that the theoretical hypotheses which underlie these studies are in need of revision. The often stated hypotheses are based on at least two false assumptions. The first is that ethnic differences in language performance can provide evidence for dialect interference. That phonological differences exist is, of course, obvious; that they actually interfere to a great degree with a child's learning to read is another question altogether. The second assumption is that the test-like situations under which experiments are conducted can adequately measure

> the effects of dialect. Research from this perspective ignores the fact that teaching and learning do not occur in isolation, but are influenced by situation and context. (1980:97)

The first point of relevance, then, to our major research questions is that little evidence has come from studies of reading and writing. The second point is that most studies have indeed been limited to studies of reading and writing in an experimental setting, with very little attention paid to spontaneous and natural language use in everyday classroom settings. Hall points out that the primary emphasis of interference work has been on vocabulary and grammar, and that further work should "focus on the combined aspects of structure, content, and function in language" (1980:93). Hu encourages researchers to "focus on the consequences, if any, which different patterns of language function and use may have for the child" (1980:94). These consequences may be social--e.g., teacher attitudes toward language variation; they may be educational--e.g., the effect of language variation on a child's ability to engage in instructional dialogue.

In order to compare "different patterns of language function and use" (presumably home and peer patterns as opposed to school patterns), researchers must first have a clear idea of the nature of each pattern. In this regard, Stubbs remarks that

> Our ignorance of what actually happens inside classrooms is spectacular. We are often prepared to make broad generalizations purporting to relate children's language to their potential educability, yet we lack basic descriptive information about how pupils and teachers communicate. In a sense, of course, we all know what classrooms are like: we have spent long enough in them as pupils and teachers. But such intuitive, remembered knowledge is no substitute for a conceptually adequate

> analysis of classroom life based on recording and descriptions of the classroom routine which takes up thousands of hours of a pupil's life. People often hold firmly entrenched views on the language and education debate, often arguing more from prejudice than from carefully considered observations and evidence. (1976:70)

The present project took its departure from these observations by Hall and Stubbs, and had as its overall goal a re-examination of dialect interference through a description and analysis of language functions in elementary school classrooms in whch children are dialect speakers. The objective was to take the focus traditionally placed on language forms in the assessment of children's language ability, and place it on language functions, that is, on the ability of children and teachers to get things done with language, accomplishing the tasks required of them in a variety of classroom activities. The description is based on extensive videotaped, audiotaped and observational data collected in the spring of 1981 in a Washington, D.C. elementary school. A wide variety of events were recorded in a kindergarten, fourth, and sixth grade classroom, including whole group lessons, small groups with and without the teacher (both of an academic and non-academic nature), and one-on-one interaction.

What follows is the final report on the project. The literature review provides a perspective on relevant dialect interference and classroom language studies. A brief background of the site school is provided, and data collection methodology is described. The development of analysis tools such as the inventory of language functions is described, and the criteria for the selection of the target videotape segments are explained. The analysis is divided into two major sections: (a) analysis of language functions in events within each of the three grades; (b) analysis of language functions in whole group lessons and openings across the three grades. The project also included the distribution of a questionnaire to educators in the Washington, D.C. public school system. A copy of the questionnaire appears in Appendix IV, and the synthesis of the results will appear

under separate cover. Finally, a protocol videotape consisting of selected kindergarten segments is in the process of being edited. The videotape is briefly described and a draft of the script is included. This videotape, tentatively entitled Learning How to Go to School, will be disseminated for use in pre-service teacher training and will be accompanied by a discussion and exercise booklet.

B. RELATED RESEARCH

Previous research of relevance to the present study falls into three categories: (1) experimental studies on the concept of dialect interference in children's participation in the classroom; (2) studies on the nature of classroom interaction and classroom discourse; (3) studies that bring together the concerns of dialect interference and classroom interaction.

It is interesting to note that many of the early studies in the first category shared two overall (and related) goals: (1) providing evidence for the very existence of dialect features in children's speech (as distinguished from artifacts of developmental processes), (2) establishing the legitimacy of Black English as a linguistic system. In studies of child language, the point was frequently to respond overtly to proponents of the deficit theory (Thomas 1962; Bereiter and Englemann 1966; Raph 1967; Hurst and Jones 1967; Deutsch 1968; Hurst 1970), who held that black children were culturally deprived and at the point of starting school, essentially had no language. Similarly, other early studies combined descriptions of the features of Black English to be found in children's speech with discussions of the implications of variability for participation in the educational process, or proposals for practical ways to deal with variability in the school setting (Hughes 1967; Baratz and Shuy 1969; Wiggins 1970; Drennan and Hansen 1970; Johnson 1971; Shuy 1972).

As mentioned, most of the studies of dialect diversity in educational settings since the middle 1960's have been experimen-

tal in design, and have relied almost entirely upon elicited data. There has been almost no use of naturalistic data, that is, data collected during the course of everyday classroom activities. Some of the most representative studies are reviewed here.

For example, Baratz and Povich (1967) studied the language of 5-year-old Black Head Start children. Based on speech samples consisting of children's responses to photographs and pictures, they concluded that "the Negro Head Start Child is not delayed in language acquisition...He has learned the complicated structures of Negro Non-Standard English" (Baratz and Povich 1967:99). Shriner and Miner (1968) compared the ability of "advantaged" nd "disadvantaged" pre-schoolers (ranging in age from 3.5 - 5.8 and 2.7 - 6.1, respectively) to apply morphological rules in unfamiliar situations. They found no statistically significant difference between the groups, and suggested that both groups increased their ability to apply morphological rules as a function of increased mental age.

Entwisle (1968) used free word association based on specific stimuli as a way of studying language development. Based on data collected from five hundred Black and White children at the kindergarten, first, third and fifth grade levels, she suggested that there is evidence that some of the "culturally deprived" children are more advanced in their language development than suburban, "advantaged" children of the same intellectual level.

Brown (1972) compared the syntactic structures used by 15 white five-year-olds to those used by 15 Black five-year-olds. Based on speech samples obtained by asking the children to tell a story using picture cards, it was concluded that while the consistent absence of certain forms in the oral output of the Black children made their speech different syntactically from that of white children, their grammar was as syntactically developed and "well-organized" as the grammar of the white children.

Walker (1972) investigated the acquisition of syntax by Black children in grades 1-6 in Tuscaloosa, Alabama. Based on a proce-

dure similar to C. Chomsky's (1969) syntax measure, grade level was found to be significantly related to the ability to detect ambiguity and to assign the correct subject in a complement clause.

O'Neill (1972) traced "the syntactic interference on the dialect of 176 Black children (grades 1-6) when they attempt to speak Standard English" (O'Neill 1972:18). He noted a marked decrease in the frequency of occurrence of "Non-standard Negro English grammatical interference items" corresponding to a rise in age and grade, and suggests that school experience tends to reduce the amount of non-standard interference (O'Neill 1972:154).

Stewart (1972) collected oral language samples from 80 inner-city kindergarten and primary school children in Indianapolis using films, and concluded that the developmental patterns of syntactic maturity and vocabulary diversity are similar to those same patterns for white middle-class children as outlined by O'Donnell et al. (1976) and Fox (1970).

In a study designed to show "the very specific effects of substandard dialect upon various linguistic performances likely to affect educational achievement," Torrey (1972) interviewed and tested 27 second graders, speakers of Black English. In order to assess competence in spontaneous speech and writing, oral reading, and explicit grammatical knowledge of standard English, Torrey used a variety of measures including a context-cue test designed to elicit specific forms, a speech imitation task, pictures designed to assess comprehension and production, an oral reading exercise, and questions concerning the meaning of the four sibilant morphemes being studied (third person singular -s, possessive -s, copula, and plural -s). Following the first interview, a learning experiment was conducted which consisted of pretests of use and comprehension of the four morphemes followed by instruction about the morphemes, and a posttest similar to the pretest to determine the effect of the training. Finally, a sample of the

oral language of white middle class second- and fourth-graders was collected, for comparison purposes.

Overall results of Torrey's study suggested that children are able to use more standard forms than they actually do use in informal situations, and that they also have a passive comprehension of many forms they cannot yet use.

The explicit grammatical training had the most influence on the verbalization of grammatical knowledge, and there is no evidence that this training affected oral language in either speaking or reading aloud.

Finally, Torrey states that the data collected from the white standard English speakers establish that the latter conform more closely to adult standard English than the Black children who are exposed to a different dialect. "It is safe, then, to attribute the deviations from standard English shown in the Black children to cultural context rather than simply to their age" (Torrey 1972:134).

To test her contention that children who are Black English speakers already control many standard English forms at the point of entering school and that they can use those forms in appropriate social situations, De Stefano (1972b) used a sentence repetition task with 180 first-, third-, and fifth-graders from ghetto scools in Oakland, California. She was specifically looking at the degree to which the children controlled what she called the Language Instruction Register (LIR). In the sentence repetition task, first-graders responded with LIR 50% of the time, while third- and fifth-graders did so 60% and 70%, respectively.

Ratusnik (1976) compared the speech of 60 Black and White children of middle and lower socioeconomic status in two age groups, mean age 4, 5, and 5.5. Based on a paragraph completion task, sentence repetition, and spontaneous speech, he suggests that age has a strong effect on the non-standard performance of the Black children, such that the younger children in both socioeconomic groups showed more non-standard forms than the older children.

Researchers such as Rystrom (1970), Melmed (1971), Rentel and Kennedy (1972) and Piestrup (1973) concentrated specifically on the role of dialect diversity in the process of learning to read and write Standard English. In their review of this interference work, Hall and Guthrie (1979) point out that there is very little evidence of phonological, syntactic or lexical interference. They also point out some crucial methodological problems with the research, such as determining whether the subjects of a given study are indeed users of a dialect or whether they are assumed to be, because they have low socioeconomic status:

> ...it is unlikely that a child could have experienced three grades of the standard American school curriculum without some modification in his language behavior. This, coupled with the fact that the task was "school-like" as was the setting in which it was given makes it unlikely that the vernacular would be called forth by the child. (1979:6)

Indeed, it was the lack of evidence of inteference both in the experimental oral language studies and in the reading and writing studies that prompted Hall to discuss the importance of considering the influence of situation and context in interference studies:

> Questions on structure, for example, are not asked in isolation, but in relation to the effects on teacher-student and text-student communication. Questions on language use center on actual language experiences in the classroom and the home. Thus, by making studies more in line with the ethnography of communication, aspects of dialect interference overlooked by previous studies can be examined. (1980:97)

Also relevant here are the studies of children's and teachers' attitudes toward dialect diversity. For example, Rosenthal (1977) investigated the language attitudes of 90 upper-middle class white children and 46 lower-working class semi-rural Black children. She suggests that children's awareness of language differences develops between the ages of three and six, and that the beginnings of this awareness occur within the major developmental period of the language acquisition process. This is contrary to the tenet that Rosenthal ascribes to many sociolinguists which holds that children do not become aware of dialect differences until early adolescence. Rosenthal's suggestions are based on the subjects' identification of speakers by race on the basis of speech samples and on subjects' elicited attitudes toward the speakers.

In another study of language attitudes, Politzer and Hoover (1976) asked teachers and students to listen to a variety of speech samples to assess the achivement, social acceptability and educational background of the speakers. There was a general agreement between teachers and students that standard English speakers were the most likely to achieve in school. In a paper entitled "Teacher Attitude Change: Does Informing Make a Difference?", Lewis (1980) describes a program designed to improve language arts instruction for bidialectal Black students. In this program, teachers (1) developed and administered pupil language arts proficiency tests prepared both in Standard English and in Black English, (2) developed and administered teacher tests of attitudes and knowledge relating to teaching Black English speakers, and (3) identified positive and negative teaching behaviors as they relate to language arts instruction for bidialectal students. As a result of the program, teachers learned facts about the language of their students that they had not expected to learn. For example, teachers discovered that students whom they had assumed were Black English-dominant were actually Standard English-dominant; many students were not limited to one variety,

and skills assessment tests produced only in Standard English did not tap the language skills of Black English-dominant students.

The second category of research relevant to the present study includes studies on the nature of interaction and classroom discourse. The earliest studies based on actual observation of what takes place inside classrooms were based on coded data. That is, observers sat in the classroom and coded what teachers and pupils said, using a set of pre-prepared categories and coding at regular time intervals (e.g. Flanders, 1970). As Stubbs points out in his discussion of these studies, "since the classroom talk is generally not recorded but 'coded' by the observer on the spot in real time, the actual language used by teachers and pupils is irretrievably lost. Such a technique can therefore at best provide an overall, average measure of classroom climate or atmosphere, without being able to study the details of the actual talk which create this climate" (1976:71).

These early coding studies were followed by analyses based on tape-recordings of classroom lessons, such as Bellack et al.'s work on the structure of classroom dialogue. This work was based on audio recordings of 60 classes. Other studies include Barnes' work in the first-year class in a British comprehensive school (1969; 1971), Mishler's work in American first-grade classrooms (1972), and Gumperz and Herasimchuk's comparison of whole group and peer-peer teaching (1972). Other important studies on classroom discourse includes Stubbs' (1976) work on teacher control of classroom conversation, and Sinclair and Coulthard's work on the linguistic structure of classroom lessons (1975).

Two important analyses of classroom discourse completed in recent years are based on a videotaped record of classroom events. Mehan (1979) describes lesson structure and draws attention to the ways in which the talk in the context of schools differs from talk not influenced by the institutional constraints of education. It should be noted that Mehan videotaped in an elementary school located in a lower-income Black and Mexican-American neighborhood

in Southeast San Diego, but the focus of his study was not on language diversity. In a study of children's functional language and education in the early years (Griffin and Shuy, 1978), researchers at the Center for Applied Linguistics collected videotapes, audiotapes, field notes and questionnaires documenting the activities of participants in an independent elementary school in Washington, D.C. The findings contribute substantially to the understanding of how children and teachers use language to participate effectively in the world of elementary school. Furthermore, the successful methods for collecting data (specifically, videotaping and ethnographic observation in classrooms) demonstrate the feasibility of studying the language of elementary school children in one of its natural contexts, the classroom.

Finally, there are several studies of relevance to the present project that have a combined focus on the structure of classroom discourse and the role of language and cultural diversity in the classroom setting. For example, as early as 1972, in his study of the language of Black adolescents, Labov addressed the issue of language diversity in the classroom:

> Just how and where the two dialects should alternate in the school situation is an open question for educators to resolve....Some writers seem to believe that the major problem causing reading failure is structural interference between these two forms of English. Our research points in the opposite direction. The structural differences between SE (Standard English) and BEV (Black English Vernacular)... are largely modifications and extensions of rules found in other dialects. The number of structures unique to BEV are small, and it seems unlikely that they could be responsible for the disastrous record of reading failure in the inner city schools....The conclusion from our research was that the major cause of reading failure is cultural and political conflict in the classroom. (1972:241-243)

In her study of the Warm Springs children, Philips analyzed participant structures in classrooms:

> ...Indian children fail to participate verbally in classroom interaction because the social conditions for participation to which they have become accustomed in the Indian community are lackng. The absence of these appropriate social conditions for communicative performances affects the most common and everyday speech acts that occur in the classroom. (1972:392)

She concludes her study by suggesting that in classroom situations involving cultural diversity, "efforts should be made to allow for a complementary diversity in the modes of communication through which learning and measurement of 'success' take place." (1972:393)

Steinberg and Cazden address the issue of the measurement of success in culturally-diverse classrooms. Their comments are based in part upon Cazden's experience as a teacher in a racially-mixed San Diego school:

> Especially with two third grade Black children...there were marked differences between the picture of the child that emerged from the official, teacher-led part of the classroom day, and the picture that emerged from the activities that the children carried on by themselves but were caught for later viewing on tape. (1979:263)

They point out the dangers of teachers underestimating a child's competence, and remark that

> Teachers know that they don't see all aspects of a child's individual and interactional competence in that portion of behavior displayed within eyesight and earshot of the teacher herself. But teachers may not realize how much of a child's

'best behavior' they miss--best in the sense of closest to the goals of education itself--until they have the chance to eavesdrop on them in situations like the ones we have described here. (1979:264)

In a year-long sociolinguistic study of pupil and teacher perceptions of classroom discourse, Morine-Dershimer et al. videotaped and analyzed language arts lessons at the second, third and fourth grade level in a lower socioeconomic multiethnic school. Videotapes were also made of conversations in the families of three third-grade students and of unstructured play settings in each classroom. The videotapes were played back to the students, after which student perceptions of (1) the rules of discourse, (2) the units of discourse, (3) salient features of discourse, (4) the functions of question cycles were analyzed. Important discontinuities were isolated between children's perceptions of home and play discourse and classroom discourse. For example, their perceptions of and participation in classroom discourse appeared to be associated with differences in classroom language patterns. Important variables included sex, entering reading achievement, peer status, and status with the teacher, but not ethnicity (1981:Executive Summary).

Finally, De Stefano et al. examined "whether and how children with diverse cultural backgrounds--including the cultural mainstream in North America--might differentially identify and acquire the rules of discourse appropriate to becoming literate" (1982:103). They focused on three first-grade boys of differing cultural backgrounds (White mainstream, Black, and Appalachian), and their videotaped and audiotaped data revealed teacher-controlled lesson discourse, and a steady decline in student initiations.

The focus of the present study is spontaneous language use by children and teachers in a wide range of classroom activities, and the methods of data collection have included observation, video-

taping, audiotaping, and interviews with the participants. Both the focus and the methods were motivated by the need to improve upon past studies of the role of dialect diversity in the elementary school setting. The goal was to provide a more accurate and complete record of life within the classroom, a more reliable framework within which to re-examine the idea of dialect interference.

CHAPTER II

PROCEDURES

A. THE SETTING

The site school, Lucy D. Slowe Elementary School, is located in northeast Washington, D.C., and is named for a former dean of students at Howard University. In 1940, Ralph Bunche coordinated a parents' petition for a school to be built, and upon its completion in 1948, Slowe School was the first school to be built for Black children in northeast D.C. Wilhelmina Thomas was the first principal of the school.

The school includes grades K-6, and while some of the children reside in the neighborhood adjacent to the school, the majority live in subsidized housing and housing projects, and walk four or five blocks to the school. At the time of data collection for this project, all of the children at the school were Black.

Negotiations with the school principal resulted in the selection of three target classrooms, one each at the kindergarten, fourth grade, and sixth grade level. All three teachers provided demographic information about their students. Figure 1 consists of a copy of the student information sheet that was completed by the teachers. Figures 2, 3 and 4 show the distribution of the students in the three target classrooms.

Figure 1

Demographic Data Sheet

STUDENT INFORMATION SHEET

NAME _____

GRADE LEVEL _____

SINGLE PARENT HOUSEHOLD? __ YES __ NO

__ MOTHER
__ FATHER
__ GUARDIAN/GRANDPARENT/OTHER

MOTHER'S OCCUPATION _____

FATHER'S OCCUPATION _____

By Washington area standards, does this family have:

__ HIGH INCOME
__ MIDDLE INCOME
__ LOW INCOME

Does this child live:

__ in the Slowe neighborhood
__ other (please specify)

Figure 2: Distribution of Students by Income Level

	K	4	6	Total
Middle	5	12	1	18
Lower middle	10	6	4	20
Low	8	7	21	36
Total	23	25	26	74

Figure 3: Distribution of Students by Household Type

	K	4	6	Total
Single Caretaker	12	16	16	44
Two Caretakers	11	9	10	30

Figure 4: Distribution of Students by Income Level and Household Type

	K		4		6		Total	
	Single caretaker	Two care-takers	Single caretaker	Two care-takers	Single caretaker	Two care-takers	Single caretaker	Two care-takers
Middle	1	4	5	7	0	1	6	12
Lower middle	5	5	4	2	4	0	13	7
Low	6	2	7	0	12	9	25	11

B. OBSERVATION

Following the negotiations with the principal and the selection of the target classrooms, each classroom was observed by the researchers for a total of 3-1/2 days. The actual observation schedule was as follows:

Kindergarten:	25, 26, 27 March 1981	8:30 a.m.-3:00 p.m.
	4 May	8:30 a.m.-12:00 noon
4th Grade:	1, 2, 3 April 1981	8:30 a.m.-3:00 p.m.
	8 May	8:30 a.m.-12:00 noon
6th Grade:	7, 8, 9 April 1981	8:30 a.m.-3:00 p.m.
	20 May 1981	8:30 a.m.-12:00 noon

During the observation days, detailed notes were taken on the sequence and content of all classroom activities, and of the participants in each activity. Preliminary notes were also made on the language used by both the children and the teacher. These observation notes were synthesized, and appear as the introductory section of the analysis within each of the three grades (Chapter IIIA, sections 1, 2, and 3). During the observation days, the observers also accompanied the children to recess, lunch, and to special activities such as music classes and play rehearsals.

C. DATA COLLECTION

The observation notes were also used to plan the videotaping and audiotaping phases of data collection. The observation period allowed the researchers to familiarize themselves fully with the daily routine in each classroom and with the children and the teacher. The children and the teacher also became acquainted with the researchers. The researchers were able to plan carefully all

aspects of data collection including the most convenient taping schedule and the most unobtrusive placement of equipment. The actual data collection schedule was as follows:

Kindergarten:	8, 9, 10 June 1981	9:00-11:30 a.m.; 1:00-3:00 p.m.
4th Grade:	1, 2 June	9:00 a.m.-12:00 noon; 1:00-3:00 p.m.
	3 June	9:00 a.m.-12:00 noon
	12 June	1:00 p.m.-3:00 p.m.
6th Grade:	26, 27 May	9:00 a.m.-12:00 noon
	4 June	9:00 a.m.-12:00 noon
	5 June	11:20 a.m.-12:00 noon; 1:00-3:00 p.m.

The videotape and audio equipment were continuously running during these hours. All data collection sessions included two video cameras (reel-to-reel videorecorders) and two reel-to-reel audio taperecorders. For whole group events, the cameras captured different angles of that event. When more than one event was in progress, each camera focussed on a separate event and the audio taperecorders were strategically placed to provide a back-up soundtrack.

Decisions about which event to focus on were often made on the spot, as the students were moving from a whole group event into smaller groups, and a wide variety of events was videotaped in all three classrooms. These events ranged from whole group lessons to small groups with and without the teacher, and to one-on-one interactions. They included events of both an academic and a non-academic nature.

On the last day of data collection in each classroom, the children were asked to divide themselves into groups of three or

four. Each self-selected group was then interviewed separately. The point of these interviews was to gain some perspective on the children's understanding of classroom procedures and of the role of language and language diversity in their classroom. Each of the three teachers was also interviewed separately. The actual interview schedules appear in Appendix I.

D. DATA REDUCTION

The result of the data collection activities was a corpus of 104 videotapes (both half-hour and full-hour) and 22 audiotapes. The first step in the reduction of the data was to devise a cataloguing system for the videotapes. Each videotape was viewed in its entirety and an index form was completed for each tape. This index form included information about the contents of each tape, notes on functional language and dialect diversity, and general notes on the tape such as which specific sections should be transcribed and included in the analysis. Figure 5 consists of a sample index form.

Following the indexing of the tapes, 62 segments were selected for transcription. These 62 segments represented the complete range of classroom events—whole group lessons, small groups with and without the teacher, one-on-one interaction, special events—and these segments constitute the corpus upon which the analysis is based. A typed transcript was prepared for each of the 62 segments. Portions of these transcripts appear in the analysis of events both within and across grades. The audiotapes provided a back-up sound track, in the event that the sound quality of the videotapes was poor. An audiotape was transcribed only if it was serving this back-up function.

Figure 5: Sample Index Sheet

Project 5/69: Language Dynamics and Classroom Discourse

(see portapak 9B

TAPE NO. 9A Studio TEACHER Boyle DATE AND TIME OF TAPE 4 JUNE 11:00-11:05 9:25-10:30

INDEXED BY Kovac DATE: 13 Aug.

Structure of Tape

- Boyle introducing task to small group
- Kenny and James reading (shotgun) (hand to hear Kenny, get text)
- camera pans; back to K. & J.; panning; back to K. & J.
- transition → reading group assembles in back of room

Seating: Beth, Angie, Beth, David, + Jason, Nicole, Nicole, Boyle, Patrice, Lavonia

(check audio) (get text)

- Gothell comes in late
- He says "I had to change my part."
- Boyle says "You had to print your part?"
- (Is Tyrone's explanation to Gothell on portapak?)
- transition - end of rdg., into spelling bee
- James & Kenny looking up dirty words in dictionary
- discussion of how to divide up; stand; divide up; general conv.

Language Notes

A. Functions

Boyle teaching regr. for info. from "Mrs. Boyle, in the third sentence, which word?"

transition Boyle: OK. will have to rotate here cause I promised will have no spelling bee at 10.

B. Dialect

James in oral rdg. w/ Kenny "He say.." "He grandfather"

David: He buyed a car
Boyle: He buyed a car?
David: Bought.
Boyle: He bought a car.

General Notes

→ weather test → transcribe

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E. DEVELOPMENT OF ANALYSIS TOOLS

As we pointed out in the introduction, the overall goal of ths study was a re-examination of dialect interference through a description and analysis of language functions in elementary school classrooms in which children are dialect speakers. The objective was to take the focus traditionally placed on language forms in the assessment of children's language ability, and place it on language functions, that is, on the ability of children and teachers to get things done with language, to accomplish the tasks required of them in a variety of classroom activities. This objective was shaped by Hall's observations, and also by a project on children's functional language undertaken at the Center for Applied Linguistics. As Shuy and Griffin point out in reviewing that project,

> The intuitions and concerns of the teachers and administrators involved in our study identified functional language as a focal point. Getting things done with language is what gives the sound, grammar, vocabulary and meaning relations value, yet phonology, syntax, lexicon, and reference have been studied more frequently than function....The ability to get things done with language, although difficult to quantify, is the fundamental characteristic of an effective language user. (1981:275)

The incompleteness of the knowledge and theory of discourse was an obstacle also encountered by the researchers in this study. The shift in focus from forms to functions appeared to be well-motivated, particularly given the dead-end streets that formal studies of interference had run into. However, the shift in focus immediately raised some difficult questions that had to be answered before the analysis could proceed: What specific lan-

guage functions do we have in mind? What are we coding and counting? What are we looking for? What is the object of study?

The first step towards an answer of these questions consisted of taking a look at the solutions that other researchers had found, both for the general problem of coding language functions and for the problem of coding and describing specific language functions. For the former problem, the work of Halliday was studied, in particular his thinking about the socio-cultural structure within which language operates. Halliday suggests that language derives its largest functions from this structure, including (1) the function to establish, maintain and specify relations between members of societies (Interpersonal function); (2) The function to transmit information between members of societies (Ideational function); and (3) The function to provide texture (Textual function). He suggests that language has evolved in the service of certain functions and this evolution has left its mark in determining the actual nature of language:

> ...it is this perspective that is needed here, in which learning language is learning the uses of language and the meaning potential associated with them; the structures, the words and the sounds are the realization of this meaning potential. Learning language is learning to mean. (1976:8)

He goes on to remark that a characteristic of young children's language is that its internal form reflects rather directly the function that it is serving: "We can see how the structures that he has mastered are direct reflections of the functions that language is being required to serve in his life" (1976:10). Finally, he defines seven subordinate functions: instrumental (use of language for satisfying material needs), regulatory (use of language to control the behavior of others), interactional (use of language as a means of personal interaction), personal, heuristic, imagina-

tive, and representational or informative. In children's language, language functions are in principle differentiated, such that the use of language to interact with others is distinct from the use of language to express personal feelings. In adult language, however, all functions can in principle co-exist and what we recognize as a grammar is in effect the integration of the various functional components into a unified structural form: "A clause in English is a realization of meaning potential derived from the ideational, interpersonal and textual functions." (1976:24)

Halliday's discussion of major and subordinate functions served as the point of departure for the development of a coding system in this study. Scollon's (1976) system was reviewed, as well as Sinclair and Coulthard's (1975) and Mehan's (1979) frameworks specifically for describing classroom lessons. Mehan's work was also relied upon in the devising of a language functions inventory, specifically his distinction between elicitation types, i.e., product, choice, process, and meta-process. Montes (1978) was consulted in the area of directives, and Christian and Tripp (1978) were consulted concerning requests.

The development of the working coding sheet, then, took place as follows: based on a review of other researchers' work, both in general approaches to coding and the coding of specific functions, five large categories of language functions were defined, with an inventory of subordinate functions in each category. The five large categories attempted to account for the flow of information and/or behavior within classroom events. That is, it was hypothesized that participants would seek to (1) inform and respond to, (2) control, (3) ask or request, (4) give, and (5) modify information and behavior. An initial and temporary inventory of subordinate functions was then devised. The researchers then independently coded identical segments and revised the inventory of subordinate functions based on a comparison of the independent codings. This revision was followed by more independent, "blind" coding of identical segments, followed by further revision of the

inventory. The second revision resulted in the "working" coding sheet, used on all segments discussed in the analysis. Figure 6 shows the five basic function categories with their subordinate functions. Figure 7 is a sample coding sheet. Appendix II provides definitions and examples from the corpus of each language function.

Along with the definition of language functions, another set of distinctions emerged from coding. That is, within each event (i.e., whole group lesson, small group with or without teacher, reading group, one-on-one, etc.), it became possible to isolate four sub-events, distinguished from each other by language. That is, there was language that related specifically to the event at hand ("And what part do you think would help to affect your nervous sytem?"), language relating to the management of the event ("You're gonna look in the Weekly Reader"), language relating to general class management procedures ("The children who used lunch tickets may leave their money on my desk"--as spoken during a whole group lesson), and language unrelated to the event at hand or to classroom procedures, perhaps part of a private conversation--we called this context comment ("It's raining today"). Finally, a distinction was made between initiations and responses.

Functions were coded by speaker initial, so that we would have clear access to functional language use by individuals. Finally, language functions realized with a dialect feature were coded with a +. This gave us access to the relationship between specific functions and dialect features, as well as to dialect use by specific individuals.

The phonological and syntactic dialect features coded are ones that have been shown to occur with reasonable frequency in natural conversation, and to therefore be the most useful in a diagnostic study (cf. Labov 1972, Wolfram 1969; Wolfram and Fasold 1974). They include:

Feature	Example
Initial syllable deletion	'posed/supposed
Copula deletion	He my friend.
Consonant cluster simplification	past passed pas'
Third person singular -s absence	He usually walk to the store.
Possessive -s absence	My brother house.
Plural -s absence	She gave me 42 cent.
Article deletion	Boy ain't going nowhere.
It as Existential	It's a book on the table.
Iterative "be"	When we be talking, he always be trying to listen.
none/any (indefinite)	She didn't buy none.
don't got/doesn't have	We don't got that book.
Ain't as auxiliary/copula	He ain't see me. He ain't here.

Figure 6

Five Basic Categories and Subordinate Functions

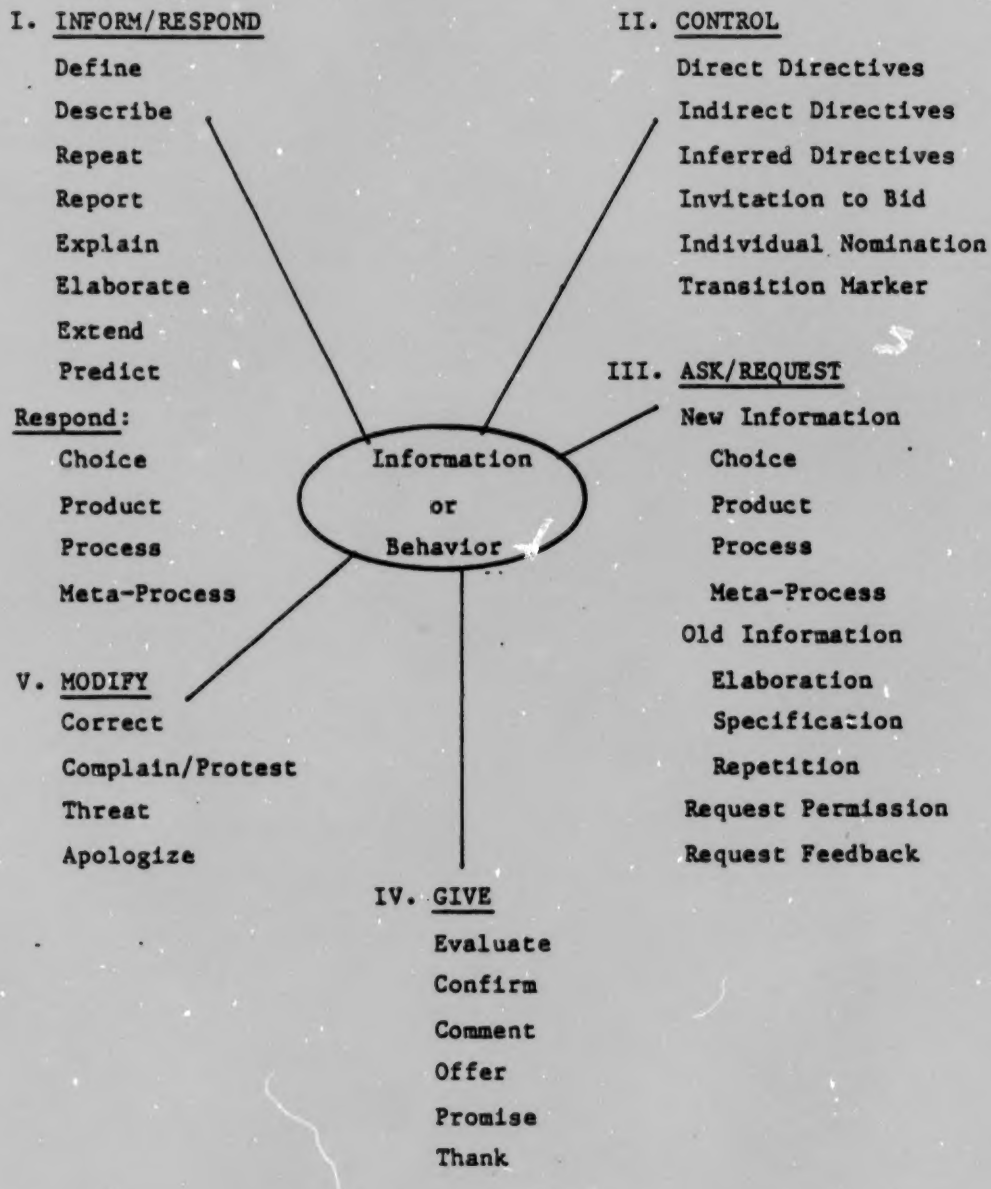

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Figure 7

Sample Coding Sheet

LANGUAGE DIVERSITY CODING SHEET

Tape # _____ Speaker Code_____

Description of Segment _____

Function	Focus							
	Initiation				Response			
	Event	Event Mgt.	Mgt. Procedure	Context Comment	Event	Event Mgt.	Mgt. Procedure	Context Comment
I. INFORM								
Define/Establish								
Repeat								
Report								
Explain								
Elaborate								
Extend								
Predict								
Choice								
Product								
Process								
Meta-Process								
II. CONTROL								
Direct Directives								
Indirect Directives								
Inferred Directives								
Invitation to Bid								
Transition Marker								
Nomination								
III. ASK/REQUEST								
New Information: Choice								
Product								
Process								
Meta-Process								
Old Information: Elaboration								
Specification								
Repetition								
Request for Turn								
Request for Permission								
Request Feedback								
IV. GIVE								
Evaluate								
Confirm								
Comment								
Offer								
Promise								
Thank								
V. MODIFY								
Correct								
Complain/Protest								
Threat								
Apologize								

CHAPTER III

DEFINING THE ISSUE OF DIALECT

Dialect as an Entity

The study of dialect differences as a variable in classroom interaction presupposes the establishment of an entity which we can reasonably refer to as the "dialect." Without the delimitation of such an entity, we have no study. Both objective and subjective dimensions of dialect recognition may be included as definitional bases, since either dimension may ultimately affect classroom behavior. On an objective level, the establishment of an empirical base for dialect differences is sufficient for investigating classroom behavior, whether or not the entity is consciously recognized on the part of the participants. By the same token, subjective reaction to an entity regarded as "dialect" may be a sufficient basis for investigating classroom behavior, even if it is devoid of objective reality. In other words, if the participants think that the variable of dialect is operating in the classroom, this perception is the rightful object of study. Ideally, we might expect both an objective and subjective reality to the construct of dialect differentiation as we investigate it here, and our ensuing discussion will establish such as base. As a preliminary step, however, it is necessary to set forth the theoretical and practical problems that beset the investigator attempting to establish dialect as a classroom variable.

As a beginning point, it is necessary to recognize that "dialect" is a flexible entity which typically needs considerable qualification. Nonetheless, it seems to be useful at least as a working label, and has some basis in objective and subjective reality. Our intent is not to examine all the necessary parameters or qualifications that go into the definition of a particular dialect, but to establish the reality of the concept as it

operates in the classrooms investigated here. Ideally, it might be convenient if we could discretely separate the world of utterances into those we could unmistakably identify as Standard English vis-a-vis the vernacular dialect, in this case, Vernacular Black English, but such is not the case. Both of these notions refer to ideal poles that exist along a continuum of dialect differentiation, while our data are limited to observable linguistic variation, comments, and interactions relating to language. The nature of linguistic dispersion and the dynamics of social interaction simply do not support an "all or nothing" view of dialect.

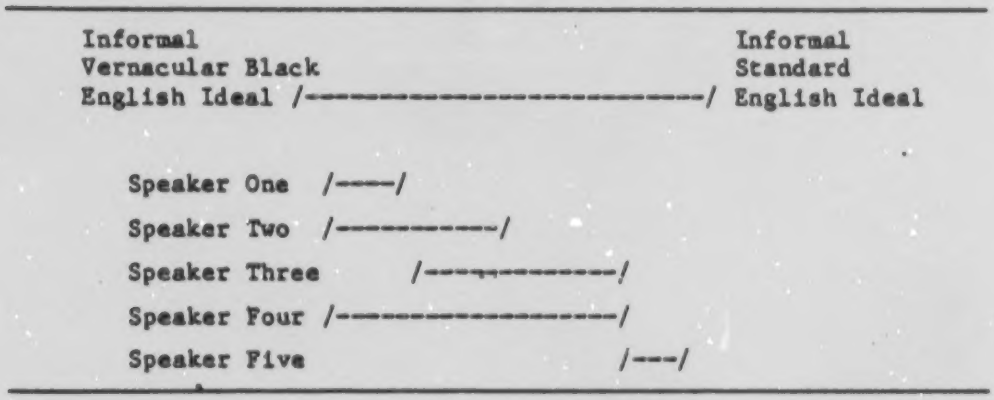
We observe that a number of the differences in socially diagnostic linguistic items are matters of degree rather than kind. At the same time certain structures are found only in a particular variety of the language; there exist structures which are found to a lesser or greater extent among different social groups of speakers. That is, the quantitative rather than the qualitative dimension may have an essential role in defining groups of speakers from each other. Thus, the particular incidence level of structures rather than categorical presence or absence may be a defining characteristic of dialect differentiation. This quantitative basis for dialect differentiation has been supported by numerous studies over the past two decades, including studies of the dialect in question here (Labov, et al. 1968; Wolfram 1969; Fasold 1972; Baugh 1979) as well as other dialects of English (e.g., Wolfram and Christian 1976; Feagin 1979). This variable dimension of dialect differentiation clearly supports a non-discrete basis for the establishment of particular dialects.

Another consideration supporting the non-discrete nature of dialect differentiation is the variation indicated by particular speakers. It is a sociolinguistic axiom that speakers of English may have a range of uses available to them along a continuum of standardness and that there are, for all practical purposes,

virtually no monostylistic speakers of English (cf. Labov 1970). Different speakers may have wider or narrower ranges of variation along the standardness axis, and different relative placement in terms of their overall range, but such realistic intra-speaker variation must be recognized. For example, given ideal descriptions of standard English and Vernacular Black English, we may get the following kinds of variation from a set of speakers.

Figure 8

Illustrative Ranges of Variation Along Standardness Continuum



In this representation, no speaker qualifies as a unistylistic speaker of the standard English or Vernacular Black English normative ideal, but some speakers have a greater range than others along the continuum (e.g., Speakers Two, Three, Four) and some clearly favor one end of the continuum over the other (e.g., Speakers One and Five). Identifying speakers who clearly favor one end of the continuum over the other might justifiably lead to the classification of speakers as essentially Vernacular Black English vis-a-vis Standard English, but we must still recognize the individual ranges along the standardness axis and the fact that some speakers seem quite indeterminate. Real world data clearly support the existence of speakers who hover around the indeterminate areas with respect to dialect classification, and

the conclusion that speakers in this range may be classified in a somewhat inconsistent manner with respect to dialect (Shuy, Baratz, and Wolfram 1969).

Our reference to ideal norms for the vernacular has justification beyond the observation that speakers show variation along the axis of standardness. Typically, the description of a particular vernacular dialect is a composite picture, pieced together by examining a number of different speakers. Thus, a given dialect speaker may not use all the structures identified as a part of that dialect, but this does not mean they would not be identified as a speaker of the dialect. Furthermore, the ideal descriptions typically underestimate the extent of inherent variability (i.e., variation that is an intrinsic part of the dialect) by assigning stigmatized variants to the vernacular norm and the non-stigmatized variant to the standard norm. As mentioned above, both stigmatized and non-stigmatized variants may be a part of both the standard and vernacular dialects with the real difference between dialects being the proportion of stigmatized to non-stigmatized variants. A classic case of an ideal representation of a vernacular is found in Fasold and Wolfram's article (1971) entitled "Some Linguistic Features of Negro Dialect."

Given the non-discrete nature of dialect differentiation, and the indeterminacy of some speakers with respect to classification, we still must face the socio-psychological reality that some speakers are classified as vernacular dialect speakers and others are not. This observation is clearly documented in the comments of teachers in our study:

(1) 4th grade teacher: Most of the children, half of my students, what should we say, street-wise children, they use the street language...

Interviewer: And when you say street language and slang, are you talking about not-so-nice words or are you talking about dialect features?

4th grade teacher: Dialect features and not-so-nice words. As a whole, I think most of them have some words, most of them do speak, say, some dialect features...

(2) Interviewer: Would you say that any of the kids in your class are dialect speakers?

Kindergarten teacher: I guess...yes and no...what do you want to know about the dialect, what they bring from home? Yes, yes, they are, especially a small percentage of them.

(3) Interviewer: Would you say that some of them don't have a command of standard English?

6th grade teacher: Yeah, I would say they don't have a command of standard English...There are some that do and some that don't, probably more that don't. I mean, they communicate, but not in the standard English that the average school might have. I'm talking about schools I've taught in...

In this regard, the teachers do not appear to differ substantially from the kinds of assessments made by the larger society as a whole (Shuy, Baratz and Wolfram 1969). The fact remains that, based on some set of sociolinguistic cues, Americans make assignments of speakers in terms of a vernacular versus standard dichotomy. The problem is identifying a parsimonious and reliable set of cues which fosters classification in a reliable way, and developing a procedure for making diagnostic classification.

Methods of Dialect Identification

Traditionally, several different methods have been used to identify vernacular dialect speakers, two of them primarily objective and the other one subjective. One method selects a restricted number of "core" features (i.e., the set of features which have been identified as most integral to the definition of the dialect) and examines a corpus of natural conversation to determine if the structures are represented in the speech sample. The underlying assumption in this technique is that an essential core of diagnostic features can be isolated and that these structures co-occur with the wider range of structures that comprise the vernacular dialect. While the evidence for co-occurrence restrictions of this type is not based upon rigorous psychometric procedures (although Ma and Herasimchuck [1971] "factor analysis" supports this contention), there is reason to believe that there exists in the vernacular core structures of this type. Thus, it is not surprising to see definitional studies which focus on structures such as third person singular /-Z/ absence, copula deletion, invariant be , and multiple negation as a diagnostic subset of features that can be used to identify speakers as users of Vernacular Black English. This is the type of core which Fasold (1971) used in a study which examined the subject's dialect as an independent variable in the examination of performance on a reading task.

In addition to some necessary theoretical assumptions in this approach, there are practical problems in the procedural implementation of this diagnostic method. For one, the choice of diagnostic features must be adequately represented in limited amounts of natural conversation, so that their incidence can be tabulated in terms of a reasonable number of potential occurrences of the form. This consideration is particularly critical given the restricted nature of the structures chosen as diagnostic to begin with. A second consideration involves those features which are inherently

variable in the dialect, as we discussed above. For example, we may say that plural /-Z/ absence is a part of the vernacular dialect, but the authentic vernacular also reveals the presence of this suffix apart from any influence of a superordinate standard variety. In such cases of inherent variability, frequency thresholds must be established, so that a quantitative criterion is the basis for establishing dialect classification. This quantitatively-based criterion must take into account standard deviation from the norm as well as the social conditions under which the "spontaneous" speech samples were collected. Thus, a more formal setting for the collection of data might reduce the relative incidence of a stylistically sensitive structure, or even eliminate completely a stereotypical structure. Notwithstanding the theoretical and procedural problems, this approach to classification has proven effective in classifying dialect speakers.

A second approach to diagnostic classification differs from the first primarily in how the data are collected. In this instance, a subset of structures are directly elicited from subjects through a specially designed instrument. In other words, a particular task is constructed to elicit the occurrence of those structures chosen to represent the dialect. The representation problem in terms of a select subset of features is similar to that discussed above for spontaneous speech, although it may not be as intense because the design of the instrument is not constrained by some of the practical problems faced in using spontaneous speech data. Thus, it may be possible to elicit diagnostic items even though their occurrence in natural conversation is quite infrequent. However, in exchange for a broader base of diagnostic structures, the effect of the conditions of data collection is intensified. The typical task used to elicit structures will be much closer to those social conditions calling for standard language vis-a-vis the vernacular, a fact which may cause the repression of those diagnostic features most sensitive to stylistic variation. Notwithstanding the importance of the setting for

language elicitation, Baratz (1969) has demonstrated that even the most obtrusive elicitation task, sentence repetition, can be used to reveal differences among groups of children which ultimately translate into standard versus vernacular dialect classifications.

The third approach used in the classification of dialect speakers relies on a subjective rather than objective basis. Put simply, this approach relies on judges who rate speech in terms of the standard/vernacular dichotomy, depending upon inter-judge reliability to verify the adequacy of the classification. Judges can, of course, rate speakers on a five point scale in terms of the standard-vernacular continuum. In such instances, judges show reasonably high reliability in rating speakers, although absolute agreement on gradient scales is not consistent.

While expert judges tend to corroborate one another in their classification of vernacular speakers, there is also evidence that lay people make similar kinds of assessments reliably. For example, Shuy, Baratz and Wolfram's study (1969) shows that both black and white lay judges representing the entire range of social classes reliably identify vernacular speakers and standard speakers at the more extreme poles of the standardness continuum.[1] (See also Williams 1970; Williams, Whitehead and Miller 1971.) Giles (1975:40), in fact, concludes that "subjective responses of speakers are more uniform than performance."

The upshot here is that both expert and lay judges show agreement in differentiating vernacular from standard English speakers in a given context, particularly if these speakers are like those represented by Speakers One and Five in our display

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[1] In the case of Shuy, Baratz and Wolfram's (1969) study, the more extreme poles are represented by speech samples of upper-middle class speakers and lower-working class speakers. Intermediate points in their four-way division are lower-middle class and upper-working class speech samples.

presented earlier. As we might suspect, researchers of VBE tend to show considerable agreement among each other when they overtly specify the kinds of linguistic items which they feel triggered their classification decisions, and these inventories are not unlike the core subset of structures often used in objective studies. While we may not be able to eliminate shared "bias" as a consideration in accounting for agreement of this type, this pattern is in sharp contrast to the overtly specified bases given by lay categorizers, who typically give a wide range of reasons for classification, which may or may not relate to observable differences (cf. Narramore 1971). The actual linguistic basis for lay categorization has not, at this point, been teased out in adequate sociolinguistic detail. It may turn out to be similar to the linguist's notion of "objective diagnostic indicators," but it is presumptuous to assume this underlying uniformity at this stage. It is sufficient here to conclude that there is considerable agreement between both lay and expert judges on the classification of most vernacular speakers.

Justifying Dialect in This Study

The Objective Dimension

We now turn to the justification of dialect as a variable in this study. The objective basis of vernacular dialect lies in the observed incidence of features found in descriptions of VBE. We will have much more to say about this in subsequent chapters, but we can establish the widespread manifestation of dialect by starting with two representative structures taken from the diagnostic subset of VBE core features and observe their incidence in the interviews conducted by the members of the research team. These interviews were conducted with the individual classroom participants on all three grade levels, typically in self-selected triads but sometimes in quartets. These interviews were rela-

tively brief (approximately 15 minutes each), and were designed primarily to obtain sociological and attitudinal information that might help explain certain aspects of classroom interaction.

The two features selected here for preliminary tabulation are third person singular -Z absence (e.g., He go for He goes) and distributive/habitual be (e.g., Sometimes my ears be itching). Both of these structures are considered among the most basic of VBE diagnostic indicators, and are typically considered among the subset of core structures representing this dialect. They also appear conducive to tabulation here because of the nature of the interviews. A great deal of the conversation involves third person accounts (a conducive discourse for potential use of third person non-past verb forms) and many of the accounts involve descriptions of regularly occurring activities, the semantic context most conducive for habitual/distributive be usage. In the case of third person -Z forms, the tabulations are made in terms of actual occurrence versus potential occurrence, whereas be is tabulated only in terms of actual occurrence due to difficulties in tabulating the relative frequency of this feature (cf. Wolfram 1969:196). Following, then, is an indication of the incidence of these features in the individual interviews for students in the three classrooms.

Figure 9

Incidence of Selected Dialect Features, 6th Grade

Group	Individual	Third Person -Z Absence		Habitual *be*
		No. Absent/Total		No.
1	Jf	1/1		2
	D	1/2		1
	Js	—		1
2	M	2/8		1
	L	6/6		4
	K	3/3		3
3	L	4/4		1
	J	9/10		—
	K	3/3		8
4	M	5/5		4
	L	2/6		1
	F	2/2		—
5	L	13/22		4
	G	1/2		1
	A	2/3		—
	M	10/17		—
6	V	6/6		1
	Dn	2/12		0
	Da	—		8
7	Ad	—		1
	At	2/3		1
	C	2/2		1
8	N	7/8		3
	K	12/13		1
	L	2/3		1
TOTAL		97/141	%Abs. 68.8	58

Figure 10

Incidence of Selected Dialect Features, 4th Grade

Group	Individual	Third Person -Z Absence		Habitual *be*
		No. Absent/Total		No.
1	B	2/2		-
	M	6/7		-
	V	5/5		-
2	D	5/5		3
	R	4/5		1
	K	1/3		-
3	J	0/6		-
	Sa	3/3		1
	Se	2/4		
4	M	8/11		4
	G	14/17		9
	D	0/1		-
	L	3/3		2
5	C	6/7		-
	M	0/2		-
	S	5/5		-
	B	2/2		-
6	D	2/2		-
	W	4/4		-
	E	7/8		-
7	P	6/8		-
	R	2/2		-
	G	0/2		1
	K	12/22		1
TOTAL		99/126	% Abs. 78.6	22

Figure 11

Incidence of Selected Dialect Features, Kindergarten

Group	Individual	Third Person -Z Absence		Habitual *be*
		No. Absent/Total		No.
1	K	10/11		3
	D	7/7		3
	R	1/4		—
2	K	8/15		—
	E	0/3		—
	J			
3	N	2/5		1
	R	4/10		5
	G	—		—
4	N	1/6		
	Cs	8/9		—
	Ce	8/9		4
5	F	—		—
	P	—		—
	C	7/10		—
6	K	—		—
	L	3/3		—
	M	—		—
	V	2/2		—
TOTAL		53/85	% Abs. 62.4	16

The conclusions to be drawn from the display of -Z third person absence and habitual/distributive be are fairly straightforward. Dialect features are clearly represented even when confronted with an interview situation with an outsider in the school setting. Each classroom reveals a majority of its speakers at levels of -Z third person absence which are representative of the frequency of this feature in the overall community (cf. Fasold 1972, Chapter Three). While habitual/distributive be does not occur as frequently this is undoubtedly due to the fact that the occasions for its occurrence are much more infrequent; nonetheless, its realization is within the limits we might expect given the limited amount of speech that comprises this sample. We could obviously extend our analysis to a number of other structures typically found in VBE, and our analyses in other chapters will broaden the range of features examined, but the conclusion would be the same: feature manifestations characteristic of the vernacular dialect are unmistakably revealed by the children in these classrooms.

To conclude that the vernacular dialect is operating in these classrooms should not, however, be taken to mean that there is linguistic homogeneity. While the majority of the speakers reveal some characteristic dialect features, there are students who fall at different points in the vernacular-standard continuum, and several speakers who reveal little or no incidence of -Z third person absence and no habitual/distributive be. While the data for tabulation are admittedly restricted, the pattern seems to reflect some genuine differences among speakers. As we shall see shortly, there are subjective impressions that tend to correlate with different vernacular frequency levels for individual speakers observed here.

The Subjective Dimension

We have already referred to the impressions of the teachers involved in this study, in which the existence of the vernacular among the students is recognized. We can add to this recognition observations of the students themselves which symbolize their awareness of the vernacular as it contrasts with the standard.

Interviewer: Do you think some people talk better than others?

M: Yeah.

Interviewer: In what way?

M: Because some people say like, you know, they'll say, "I ain't got no more," like that, and some people say, "I haven't any more," like that.

Interviewer: What is a good talker?

R: A person who speaks real good.

Interviewer: Yeah, but how do you know they're speaking good? What are they doing that's different from a person who doesn't speak good?

G: Use a good s sound....

P: They put endings on their words.

L: Like sometime I think Monica talk well because everytime I be saying the wrong words, she always correct me.

Interviewer: What do you mean when you say the wrong word?

L: Like I be saying, "Monica, I aint' got none," like that. She say, "It's not ain't." She say, "You don't have any."

While the illustrative dialect differences usually seize upon stereotypical structures and the label for dialect differences vary in the student interviews (e.g., "correct" versus "incorrect," "street" versus "school" language, "slang" versus

"proper," "good" versus "bad"), the evidence seems quite clear that a dimension of vernacular versus standard dialect differences is clearly recognized by the classroom participants. Both objective and subjective levels of dialect difference are clearly operative in this setting.

Dialect as an Issue

Given the objective and subjective reality of dialect in this study, we now turn to dialect as an issue. It is, of course, theoretically possible for dialect differences to exist in the classroom without being a factor in the social management and relations in the classroom situation, so that we cannot simply assume its status as a variable affecting behavior. At this point, we want to establish the fact that classroom participants view dialect as a potential issue in the socio-educational context. Several kinds of observations culled from our interviews with classroom participants warrant our consideration of dialect as an issue in this educational context. Our analysis in subsequent chapters will examine these considerations in actual classroom interactions.

First of all, we observe that there is an important evaluative component attributed to dialect differences. Each of the classroom teachers interviewed rates some speakers as "better" than others, and a component of this evaluative scale relates to the vernacular-standard English dichotomy. While there are obviously other factors that enter into an evaluative assessment of speech besides dialect (e.g., fluency, willingness to speak before larger groups, leadership, success in various educational tasks, etc.), dialect remains as one of the factors entering into rating speakers as "good" or "bad."

Dialect not only enters into evaluation by teachers, it enters into the overt evaluations made by the students themselves. Practically all the children in the sample feel that there are

some speakers in the classroom who talk better than others, and dialect differences is a common theme cited as the basis for evaluation. Thus, we get the following student observations:

Interviewer: What are good speakers to you?
P: They put the endings on the words.
Interviewer: What makes a good talker? Why do you say that S-- is better than somebody else. What do you think, S--? Do you think that some kids talk better than others in the classroom?
S: Kinda
Interviewer: Okay, what does better mean? What does it mean to talk better?
S: You express yourself and you know what you're doing and you're not very nervous. You calm yourself. And you say your words correctly.
Interviewer: What does correctly mean? What do you mean when you say...
S: Using your endings and speaking out.
Interviewer: And who do you think talks well?
L: Like sometime I think Monica talk well because everytime I be saying the wrong words, she always correct me.
Interviewer: What do you mean when you say the wrong word?
L: Like I be saying, "Monica, I aint' got no," like that. She say, "It's not ain't." She say, "You don't have any."

Although the cited features of dialect differences make reference to linguistic stereotypes of the standard/vernacular dichotomy, we must admit the overt evaluation of dialect differences.

The issue of dialect in the educational context is further attested in terms of how the classroom participants view language

accommodation. Both students and teachers overtly perceive a need to adjust dialect to differing contexts within and without the school. The first two observations below come from two of the classroom teachers in this study and the last one from a student.

T: Everyone has a right to talk the way they want to at home, but I think they should be introduced to the type of talk they should have in school, too.

T: It's okay to use the language where it's appreciated, I said, but if you go out--I don't want them to get rid of it, the language, I said--but in some situations it's not the right place to use it.

M: Like in school, like they correct you and at my house they correct me, too, but out in the street, you know, that's where I pick up the habit of saying it, so I say it too, you know.

Dialect also becomes a variable that is perceived as sensitive to interlocutors as well as setting, as attested by the students and teachers.

M: Well, I'd change the way I talk cause with my friends I use a lot of street language with my friends, but when I'm with an adult I use more clear English.

D: But they won't understand, 'cause some teachers are not hip to this stuff.

Interviewer: Do you think you should talk the same way all the time?

D: With your friends. With your teacher it's a difference because she's a grownup. And with your friends, they're about your same age, and so you just talk like you usually be talking to somebody in the famly, one of your cousins or someone like that...

Interviewer: What about with your friends and Mrs. B, do you talk differently with Mrs. B than you do with your friends?

L: Yes.

Interviewer: In what way?

L: Like I have to talk proper to Mrs. B and I don't have to talk proper to my friends.

The upshot of such comments is that both teachers and students overtly recognize that dialect enters into the consideration of teacher-student relationships in the classroom. The whole notion of dialect correction is one of the most obvious manifestations of this relationship, and virtually all students and teachers admit to classroom correction about dialect differences. Students commonly make the following kinds of observations:

Interviewer: Can you give me an example of how she [i.e., the teacher] corrects them?

M: Yes, when somebody says, "We is not doing that," and she say, "The word is we are not doing that."

Interviewer: Why do you think she does that?

M: So when they grow up they won't talk like that.

D: Like L.G., she always say ain't, she say, "I ain't got that," like that.

Interviewer: So then what happens?

D: Mrs. W says, "I don't have that."

P: Like G.P., he starts his own word and Mrs. W corrects him. And when, like if somebody like when G.P. talk, if he start a word, Mrs. W'll correct him. But when somebody say something correct, then she won't have to correct them.

Teachers also admit to such social occasions of dialect correction, although they may have different behavioral schemata for carrying out this event.

Interviewer: Do you ever correct the children when they speak?

K Teacher: Sometimes and sometimes no. I find that if I try to repeat the sentence maybe that will do more good than to say, "Don't say that, say thus and so."

4th grade teacher: ...we have to insist that they, you know, put those endings on words, but this program says not to criticize, but we have to because with SPP [Student Progress Plan] we have to insist that they speak the way they should.

6th grade teacher: I guess I correct them mostly on endings and verb forms, but there are a lot of things I feel I can't correct.

There are other, more subtle dimensions of the behavioral manifestations of dialect differences that we will discuss later, but it is sufficient at this point to conclude that dialect is a factor which enters into teacher-student interactions.

CHAPTER IV

A. ANALYSIS OF EVENTS WITHIN GRADES

1. The Kindergarten Class

Introduction

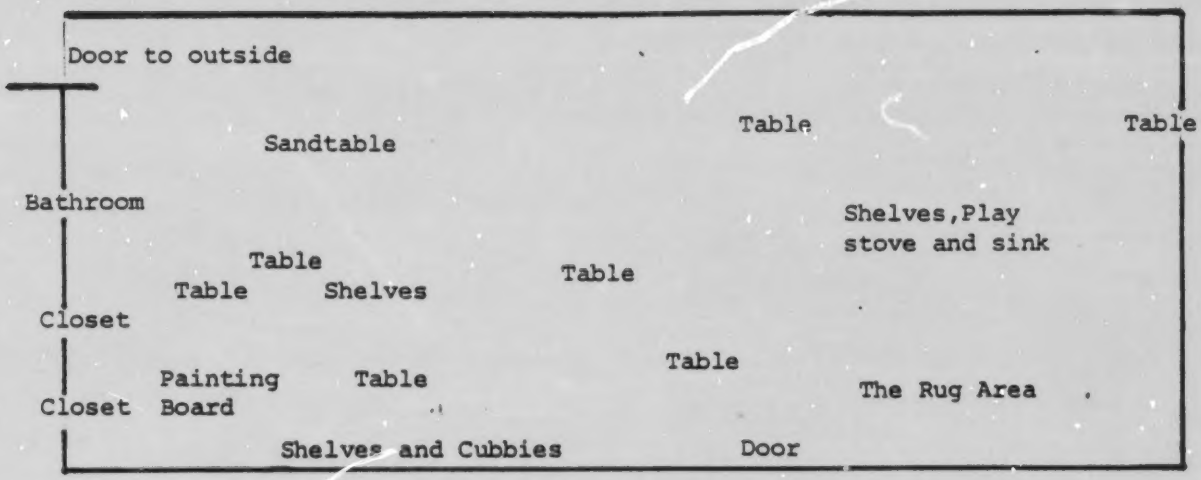
In this chapter, the research findings pertaining to the kindergarten class will be presented. The chapter is divided into three sections. In the first section, general information about life in this classroom is provided. This information was gathered during four days of observation, and the write-up is based on the observation notes compiled by the researchers. In the second section, an analysis of functional language use and dialect diversity in this classroom is presented, based on a detailed look at videotaped segments of six different events within the class. The third section consists of a look at evidence for the teaching and learning of turn-taking strategies in the classroom.

A. Observation Notes

There were 23 children in the kindergarten class at the time of observation and data-collection in May of 1981.

The physical plan of the classroom is as follows:

Diagram of the Kindergarten Classroom



This class was observed for a total of 20 hours over 4 days: 25 March (8:30-3:00), 26 March (8:30-3:00), 27 March (8:30-12:00), and 4 May (8:30-12:00). To get a sense of the sequence of events, note was made of the different kinds of groups (small vs. large; activity of the group) that were formed in the classroom during the course of a given day. Presented schematically, the sequence of events is as follows:

25 March	26 March	27 March	4 May
large group: "opening of school"	small groups (at "centers")	small groups	large group (no "opening") (nurse's office) (rehearsal)
small groups	large groups (no "opening") (music class)	large group ("opening") small groups	
large group	large group small groups large group	large groups	
(lunch) recess	(lunch) recess	(lunch) recess	(lunch) recess
large group (resting) large group (dismissal)	small groups (dismissal)		

"Opening of school" includes the reciting of the pledge of allegiance and the singing of My Country 'Tis of Thee, and other so-called "patriotic songs." Most of the children arrived through the outside door, proceeded directly to the coat closet, and then made their way to "the rug." This is the NE corner of the room, designated for large group meetings. Before standing up for the pledge, the children sat in rows on the floor. The child leading the opening was picked by the child who lead it the preceding day, and the former came to the front of the group. This child directed the others to stand and to place their hands over their hearts. They all began to recite the pledge. The opening of school was followed by a discussion of the day's plans, and division into small groups. Two things should be noted about the opening of school:

1. Of the four mornings observed, this formal opening occurred twice.

2. At this point, 7 months into the school year, it is readily apparent that all class members know how the opening of school is to proceed. There was no overt reference to "what should happen next." The procedure of the previous day's child choosing the child to lead the opening was clearly familiar to everyone, and the event took place smoothly.

The opening of school is only one of a number of events in this classroom that rely upon a shared knowledge of the expected routine or ritual. In this regard, two issues will be addressed:

1. To the extent that they are apparent from observation, the expected routines and rituals that are a part of this classroom will be defined and described;

2. Participants' knowledge and awareness of the routines, rituals and rules, as revealed by overt verbal reference to them, will be described.

The routine of "opening school" has already been discussed. There are a number of other routines used in this classroom. These routines appear to have two purposes: (a) They have a major role in the marking and carrying out of transitions from one activity to the next; (b) They help maintain order within a given activity.

The most common type of routine observed in this classroom was a short song. The songs have been classified here by their first line. Those used for marking and carrying out transitions between activities include:

"Children"--Essentially one bar, sung with a falling intonation by the teacher, as a means of getting attention and of signalling a change in activity:

Children, put your toys away.
Children, come and sit with me.

The "children" part of both of these is identical to the first song, and the two songs are identical in tune. Again, both are used as attention-getters, and as signals to change activity.

Usually these songs were sung only once, and the children did not join in singing. They did join in on some other songs, used for marking and accomplishing transitions:

I'm sitting in my rows.

Open, shut them, put them in your lap.

I'm sitting very quietly.

My hands are in my lap, I'm sitting straight and tall.

Each of these short songs is sung typically when the activity or state described in the song is not being accomplished or is in the process of being accomplished. In several instances, the teacher would be sitting alone or

with a small number of children in the large-group corner, singing and waiting for the others to arrive. Similar to these songs is the Good Morning Song, teacher-initiated as a way to assemble everyone in the large-group corner to start the day.

One song was noted within activities, and distinguished itself from the other conventional songs sung during the four days by requiring the invention of very context-specific verses by the children:

Happiness is sitting together.
not being naughty.
cleaning together.
helping together.
working together.
putting your toys away.

There were other well-known songs sung by the group, during designated singing time. The eight songs described above, however, clearly cannot be considered conventional songs. They are songs that have very specific functional purposes in this kindergarten classroom.

Other routines observed relating to the maintenance of order include:

- The turning on and off of the lights as a signal for a change in activity or as a request for order

- A gesture to indicate the zipping of the mouth, with an accompanying zipping noise

- A procedure whereby a small paper sign with the name of a given "center" is worn around the neck of a child working at that center, e.g., sand table, clay, blocks, etc. There was evidence that only a certain number of children could work at a given center. At one point, a girl who had been at [the marbles] decided to go to the sand table. The sand table had its quota, however, and her strategy for getting to play there was to ask, "Who wants to quit playing in the sand?"

- Well-defined procedures for lining up to leave the room (Boys and girls are generally separated and one group is usually directed to line up before the other.)

There are other routines that relate to activities customary in this classroom, including:

- Share and Tell. This takes place only on certain days of the week, on the rug. The children doing the sharing stand at the front of the group.

- Birthdays. Birthdays are marked and dealt with as part of a large group meeting on the rug. Several songs are sung, and the birthday child is given a badge.

The routines and rituals described here accompany the classroom activities, such as small group lessons and activities and large group lessons and activities, to form the structure of this classroom. Evidence of the participants' understanding of this structure came from their overt references to the routines and rituals. For example, both the teacher and the children made reference to the turn-taking behavior that appears to vary in its appropriateness according to context:

Tch: I like the way people raised their hands to talk to me.
Tch: Excuse me, I would like to see some hands.
Child: Wait until she calls you.
Child: Don't raise your hands!
Tch: I am only gonna call on those who raise their hands.
Tch: The rule is...

Other references to rules and rituals include:

- Following a large group meeting after lunch, one child said, "Rest time!" and turned the lights out. He was not directed to do so by the

teacher and yet everyone proceeded to do "rest time." His actions were clearly appropriate.

- As children were gathering on the rug for a large group meeting, the teacher remarked, "I like the way that some of the children are sitting" --at once a directive and a reference to the fact that there is a proper way to sit for this activity.

- At the beginning of a Share and Tell session, the teacher reviewed the rules for that activity: the need to talk out, the need to know about what one is sharing, and the need for the others to listen. At one point, she asks the group

  Tch: And you all are the what?

  to which the children respond

  Children: "Listeners."

  Following this response is a discussion of the fact that another word for 'listeners' is 'audience.' The activity then begins.

- While getting ready for lunch, the teacher remarks, "I'm not going to lunch, children, and you know why."

Based on the observations of the sequence of events, and on the rules and rituals that occur both between and within events, it appears that the structure and procedures are well-defined in the classroom, and that knowledge of the structure and procedures is shared by all class participants. There is a very real sense of what is expected and of what constitutes appropriate behavior.

B. Functional Language and Dialect Diversity

Six segments were selected for the analysis of functional language use in kindergarten, as follows:

1. Medium-sized group with teacher, organized activity: The construction of butterflies.

2. Peer/peer without teacher, 2 girls playing house together.

3. Small group without teacher, free play in the farm corner.

4. Small group without teacher, playing with a jumprope during a transition time.

5. Small group without teacher, free play at the sand table.

6. Small group without teacher, free play in the farm corner.

These segments were selected specifically because they provide a look at language functions as children interact in small groups and in one-on-one situations, that is, participant structures that are in contrast with whole group lessons with the teacher. As we will see in this chapter, the contrast in participant structures is clearly matched by a contrast in the use of language functions.

Segment #1: The Butterfly Project, medium group with teacher

This segment was videotaped on 8 June, 1981, between 9:45 and 10:10 a.m. It is preceded by the school opening and a lengthy discussion lesson about planting. All class members participated in both of these activities, and then divided up into smaller groups for a variety of activities. The target segment is one of these activities, a butterfly construction project with 13 children and the teacher. What follows is a sample from the transcript of the segment.

KY: Miss P., I think that's all I'm gonna do [today.
TCH: [All right, dear.
Why don't you put your name on it after you wash your hands.
[Put your name on the back of it.
S: [Miss P. Miss P.
TCH: [Would you?
CS: [(unintelligible)] he made some wings.
TCH: Did he? Oh, such interesting butterflies you're makin'. You gave him an extra pair of wings?
CS: No. He got himself an extra pair of wings.
TCH: Ca--, I don't see what you're doing. You're making a good start but I'd like to see something that you're doing. You may cut that...cut any design you want. (unintelligible)
S: Look at my butterfly.
TCH: Don't forget (unintelligible) you only have to
[(unintelligible)] okay?
KI: [Miss P.
KI: Miss P.
TCH: _____, Ki--. Butterflies have some antennas. Look over there and look at the little flowers on the, uh, on the board. And you'll see something stickin' up at the top of him. That's his feelers or antennas. He needs them.
CHA: Well, I made some right there.

TCH: Yeah, well go see where they are. Go over there and look and see where it is.

E: Boy, What you messin' up mines for? (picking up his drawing from the table)

KY: I didn't do it.

STUDENTS: [(unintelligible)

TCH: [(unintelligible)]

S: Miss P. Miss P.

STUDENTS: (unintelligible)

S: Just one more _____.

TCH: [(unintelligible) you can decorate it.]

STUDENTS: [(unintelligible)

TCH: Add some more colors to yours. (to CHA) Add some more to yours.

S: Che--, get from here. You're not working over here, Che--.

TCH: I think Che-- wanted to get some, uh, (unintelligible). Che--? Come here, dear. Here's some more here in this bag.

CHE: Miss P.

CS: She gonna take all of 'em.

TCH: Pardon me.

CHE: (unintelligible)

CS: [Here, Che--.] (hands something to CHE)

CHE: [(unintelligible)]

TCH: (unintelligible) there, Che--. I mean, uh...

TA: [Ta--.]

TCH: [Ta--.]

Table 1 shows the frequency of participant initiations and responses across all language functions in the segment.

Table 1

Frequency of Initiations and Responses across All Language Functions, Segment K-1

	Initiation				Response			
Speaker	Event	Event Mgt.	Mgt. Pro.	C.C.	Event	Event Mgt.	Mgt. Pro.	C.C.
Teacher	42	3	64	6(+1)	25	3	3	2
E	(22)(2+)				2	2		
Ky	12(+1)	1	2	1	4			
Chr	3		2		2			
F	4			1		1(+)		
Ki	5				1			
Ta					1			
Cs	6(+1)	1		2	3			
Che	1							
G					1			
Na	3	1(+)		1(+)	1			
R	1		2			2		
Da								
S	21(3+)	4(3+)		2(1+)	7	3		1
Total	120	10	72	12	47	11	3	3
Children	78	7	8	6	22	8	0	1

NOTE: + indicates number of functions occurring with dialect features.

From Table 1, we see that the large concentration of student talk occurs in the initiation-event and response event categories. And while the teacher also produces utterances in the event category, a striking amount of her language falls in the management procedure category, that is, language used to keep all of the classroom events proceeding smoothly. In contrast, the children's management language is fairly evenly divided between event management and management procedures.

Table 2 shows the breakdown of utterances by major function category, i.e., inform, control, ask/request, give, and modify.

Table 2

Frequency of Utterances by Major Function Category, Segment K-1

		Initiation				Response			
Function	Spkr	Event	Event Mgt.	Mgt. Pro.	C.C.	Event	Event Mgt.	Mgt. Pro.	C.C.
I.	Tch	8		7	1	2	1		1
INFORM	E	6					2		
	Ky	6(+1)		1		2			
	Chr	2		2		1			
	F	2			1		1(+)		
	Ki	1							
	Ta								
	Cs	4(1+)			1	1			
	Che								
	G								
	Na	3	1(+)		1(+)				
	R	1							
	Da								
	S	2(1+)	4(3+)		1	2	1		
II.	Tch	22	3	47	2	13	1	1	
CONTROL	E	2		1					
	Ky	1							
	Chr								
	F								
	Ki	2							
	Ta								
	Cs	1							
	Che								
	G								
	Na								
	R								
	Da								
	S	3			1(+)				

(Table 2 continues on next page)

Table 2 (continued)

		Initiation				Response			
Function	Spkr	Event	Event Mgt.	Mgt. Pro.	C.C.	Event	Event Mgt.	Mgt. Pro.	C.C.
III.	Tch	7		2	3(1+)	1			
ASK/	E	11(1+)							
REQUEST	Ky	3							
	Chr	1							
	F	2							
	Ki	2							
	Ta								
	Cs		1						
	Che	1							
	G								
	Na								
	R			1					
	Da								
	S	13(1+)							
IV.	Tch	1		1			1		
GIVE	E	3(1+)							
	Ky	2	1	1		1			
	Chr					1			
	F								
	Ki								
	Ta					1			
	Cs								
	Che								
	G								
	Na								
	R						2		
	Da								
	S	1				3	1		
V.	Tch	1		1			1		
MODIFY	E	3(1+)							
	Ky	2	1	1		1			
	Chr					1			
	F								
	Ki								
	Ta					1			
	Cs								
	Che								
	G								
	Na								
	R						2		
	Da								
	S	1				3	1		

From Table 2, we see that most student talk occurs in the general function categories of inform-initiation and ask/request initiation. In sharp contrast, most of the teacher talk falls into the control-initiation and specifically, as we noted earlier, in the focus category of management procedures. The children use relatively little control language, and the occurrence of give and modify functions is also fairly limited. Finally, there are 14 occurrences of dialect features, distributed across all function categories except give.

Segment #2: CHE and TA, peer-peer interaction.

This segment was also videotaped on 8 June, 1981, between 10:00 a.m. and 10:30 a.m. It takes place during the time designated for a variety of activities to be taking place in the classroom. The segment consists mainly of two girls playing house, although two other students and the teacher intervene briefly. A sample of the transcript follows:

TA: Say! (Follows over to CHE and other girl. Grabs object from CHE and makes other girl smell it. Runs back to her table, giggling.) (Addressing CHE) You gotta fix up the car with this thing. Stop! You gotta pick up the car, dummy. You know what to do. I'll--I'll make the house.

CHE: Are you trying to say like this, Ta--? (Holding object in hand)

TA: This is our pork chop.

CHE: Where?

TA: In the pan.

CHE: You put this out--and, I want my, I want my, um, um, hamburger. Here go my hamburger. Now, you cook it.

TA: I need a fork.

CHE: What's for? (unintelligible) you can find that fork in that thing.

TA: The...

CHE: Here go the baby sock and the big sock.

TA: So what?

CHE: I know how to do these socks. Just like this, like you have 'em in the drawer or somethin'. Put 'em in the drawer like that.

TA: Your dinner is almost ready.

CHE: I know my dinner's almost ready (unintelligible) You told me.

TA: I did not say that. I just now told you.

CHE: Your mother said that.

TA: (unintelligible) the house, right here. But this, this the house and we gotta walk all the way from the dining room to come down here to get in the house.

CHE: (unintelligible) the house. Now, you have to go over to the mountain to see these.

TA: (unintelligible) the mountain?

CHE: Unh-unh, Ta--.

TA: This is...

CHE: There go the steak.

TA: We gotta go all the way to California to (unintelligible)

CHE: California?

TA: Yeah, this is my friend's [(unintelligible)

CHE: [Man.

TA: When are we gonna take the stuff out then, Ta--? We gotta take it with us 'cause we gonna stay there forever.

CHE: Forever an' ever? Then we not gonna never come back? Oh, (unintelligible) (Gathers objects into box.)

TA: We not going there (unintelligible).

CHE: I'm fixing the stuff. [(unintelligible)

TA: [(unintelligible)

CHE: In here.

TA: We (unintelligible) and I'm not gonna change my mind.

CHE: My daddy don't care and I don't care.

TA: Where's the fork? Let me.

CHE: (unintelligible) Ta--. Just (unintelligible) 'em up like that.

TA: (Takes box) This is our house. I s'pposed to be working. You have to be going to work.

CHE: Oh, girl, I need something to take. Oh, here go. Oh, my work things. (unintelligible)

TA: (Humming while working)

CHE: (unintelligible)

Table 3 shows the frequency of participant initiations and responses across all language functions in the segment:

Table 3

Frequency of Initiations and Responses across All Language Functions, Segment K-2

	Initiation				Response			
Speaker	Event	Event Mgt.	Mgt. Pro.	C.C.	Event	Event Mgt.	Mgt. Pro.	C.C.
Che	47(9+)	2		20(2+)	12(1+)	1		
Ta	73(17+)	8(3+)		5	15(1+)	2		4
Ki					1			
Da		1						
Tch			2					
S					2			

As in Segment 1, we see that most of the student talk occurs in the initiation-event and response-event category. There is a noticeable increase in the area of context comments, that is, language concerning other events in the classroom, unrelated to the focus event. There is also a striking increase in the occurrence of dialect features, particularly in the event category. The only instances of management procedure are provided by the teacher.

Table 4 shows the breakdown of utterances by major function category.

Table 4

Frequency of Utterances by Major Function Category, Segment K-2

		Initiation				Response			
Function	Spkr	Event	Event Mgt.	Mgt. Pro.	C.C.	Event	Event Mgt.	Mgt. Pro.	C.C.
I. INFORM	Che	32(7+)		7	6(2+)	3			
	Ta	44(13+)	4(2+)		1	4(1+)	1		1
	Da								
	Ki								
	Tch								
	S								
II. CONTROL	Che	7	2		12		1		
	Ta	20(2+)	4(1+)		2	4			
	Da								
	Ki					1			
	Tch			2					
	S								
III. ASK/ REQUEST	Che	3				5(1+)			
	Ta	5(2+)		1					
	Da		1						
	Ki								
	Tch								
	S								
IV. GIVE	Che	2			2	4			
	Ta	1			1	3	1		3
	Da								
	Ki								
	Tch								
	S								
V. MODIFY	Che	3(2+)							
	Ta	3				4			
	Da								
	Ki								
	Tch								
	S								

As in Segment 1, a great deal of the student talk (which is to say, CHE and TA) occurs in the function categories of inform-initiation and ask/requestinitiation. However, in sharp contrast with Segment 1, there is a significant amount of control language used by both girls, mainly in the event and event management focus categories. This control language consists of directives of all three types (direct, indirect, and inferred), and clearly has the function of structuring and maintaining order in the event. However, there is a contrast in the use of control language by the two girls. While TA shows more use of control functions in the event and event management categories, CHE shows more control functions in the context comment category.

There is also a noticeable increase in the occurrence of dialect features in this segment. In fact, of the six segments examined, this one shows the highest percentage of dialect features. Again, there is a contrast in the girl's usage: while TA shows occurrence of dialect features in the inform, control, and ask function categories, CHE shows such occurrence in the inform, ask and modify categories. The biggest difference concerns the total absence of dialect features for CHE in the control category, leading us to speculate about a developing awareness in CHE of the relationship between the social situation and language. That is, the absence of dialect features in her control language might be due to her perception of the situation in which one uses control language as relatively more formal than other speech situations, and therefore as inappropriate for dialect use. This speculation will be returned to.

Segment #3: Farm Corner, small group interaction without teacher

This short segment also takes place during the time designated for various activities, and was videotaped on June 8, 1981, between 10:30-10:45 a.m. The segment involves free play in a part of the room that we have designated the "farm corner"--a corner equipped with blocks, play farm buildings, farm animals, and a hand-painted mural of a barnyard on one wall. The segment has been included in the analysis despite its brevity because it provides a nice example of small group interaction without the teacher as well as of spontaneous language usage. It also provides language samples of some of the children who are reticent in large groups. The transcript of the segment follows:

TCH: 5 minutes! You only have 5 minutes.
(Camera on TA, NR, and M playing)

M: Mmm! Boom, boom! (Playing with firetruck) The fire truck go back. Now, I gonna try that once a. Rmm! (Mimics sound of motor) Yeha! Mmm, doggy!

NR: (Moving truck toward TA) Right through. Ye ha! (Makes a rooster sound)

TA: What you doing in my farm? (unintelligible) bird. Nobody invite you in anyway.

TCH: 3 minutes. You've got _____.

NR: Yeah.

TA: You [better] go before I cook it, boy.

NR: [Get out.] (to M who knocked over blocks) Stop!

TA: (gets up and twirls around in front of camera) I'm turning into a (unintelligible) in the wind. (Inaudible) We're going to our house and I will pull you.

NR: Watch on out.
(TA rides M horseback-style and M...)

TA: Giddy. Hee, hee, hee! Come on. Stop.

NR: Give (unintelligible) us some.

TA: Get out.

M: That's what we do in with the _____. Yeah.

TA: [Give us some. / Stop!] I'm gonna [tell. / You all] the _____.

NR:

TCH: Nr--? Would you have your people over here help you get your blocks together? I think you need to do that now. I'm sorry, dear, but you have to clean off your table! And Ta--, would you please be responsible for getting all the animals back into the barn? Thank you very much.

TA: (singing)

Table 5 shows the frequency of participant initiations and responses across all language functions in the segment.

Table 5

Frequency of Initiations and Responses across All Language Functions, Segment K-3

	Initiation				Response			
Speaker	Event	Event Mgt.	Mgt. Pro.	C.C.	Event	Event Mgt.	Mgt. Pro.	C.C.
Ta		5(1+)		1		3(1+)		
Nr		4				2		
M	2							
Che								
Tch			7					

From Table 5, we see that most of the children's talk is concentrated in the event-management category, while all of the teacher's talk falls into the category of management procedure. There are only two instances of dialect, both produced by the same child.

In Table 6, we see utterances divided according to major function categories.

Table 6

Frequency of Utterances by Major Function Category, Segment K-3

		Initiation				Response			
Function	Spkr	Event	Event Mgt.	Mgt. Pro.	C.C.	Event	Event Mgt.	Mgt. Pro.	C.C.
I. INFORM	Ta	1			1				
	Nr						1		
	M	2							
	Che								
	Tch								
II. CONTROL	Ta	3					2	1	
	Nr	4					1		
	M								
	C								
	T			7					
III. ASK/ REQUEST	Ta								
	Nr								
	M								
	Che								
	Tch								
IV. GIVE	Ta								
	Nr								
	M						1		
	Che								
	Tch								
V. MODIFY	Ta	1(+)					1(+)		
	Nr								
	M								
	Che								
	Tch								

The breakdown by major function category is revealing, as we see that most of the children's language having to do with event management falls into the control function category, and that all of the teacher's management procedure is in the control category as well. Furthermore, it is interesting to see that the two instances of dialect occurrence are both produced by TA in the modify function category--one protest and one threat. We will recall that she had several instances of dialect features with control language in Segment 2, while dialect features do not accompany her control language in Segment 3. This absence of dialect features in control language may be due to the much more imposing presence of the teacher in this segment, in whose presence TA may judge it inappropriate to use dialect. However, the absence may simply reflect the brevity of the segment. Finally, the noticeable lack of functions of any kind in the event category should be discussed. This may be due in part to the fact that the teacher has clearly marked the beginning of the end of activities, with her utterance "5 minutes--you only have 5 minutes." That is, while there may have been more language focussed on the event earlier in this sequence, the focus may now switch to management as a result of time constraints and the teacher's directive. The lack of functions in the event category, however, may also simply reflect the fact that the children are playing rather independently here, and that there is no event, as such. The focus is on keeping others from intruding on one's own event. NR and M's attempt to do something together at the end of the segment (NR: "That's what we're doing--we're moving the farm." M: "Yeah.") is foiled both by TA's protest and by the teacher's management directives. An initial look at the videotape of this segment, then, might suggest that it is an event with some kind of unity. A closer look at the language functions reveals little evidence of a unified event, and considerable evidence of attempts to maintain independence.

Segment #4: R's Jumprope, small group interaction without teacher

This segment was videotaped on June 8, 1982, between 1:00-1:30 p.m., in the free time period between lunch and naptime. The segment concerns four girls who are playing with a jumprope that belongs to one of them, and takes place in the empty kindergarten classroom--everyone else is making trips to the water fountain and the bathroom, in preparation for the story that precedes nap time. The girls are technically not supposed to be in the classroom at this time without the teacher, as witnessed by the opening utterance. The segment is short but was included in the analysis because of the spontaneous language usage and the distribution of language functions. A sample from the transcript follows:

(DA jumping rope. KI joins in.)

S: Miss P. doesn't know you're in here. (unintelligible)

KI: Yes she do.

S: (unintelligible)

KI: [Yes she do.

CHE: [Cm'on. Let's jump] (unintelligible)

(KI does cartwheel.)

Come on, Ki--. Go. Ow. Ki--. Oh, my goodness!

R: Ya'll got my [rope.

KI: [jump]

CHE: Mmm-mm. Jump. Let us jump one more time and then we'll give it to you. Okay, you can jump. All right? Come on. (All three try to jump rope together.) Oh, all three of us can jump.

R: Now wait a minute.

CHE: Let's

S: [Now let's give]Ki-- a go.

CHE: [n m t], [n m t]] (Makes this sound while turning the rope.)

R & C: (singing) Man in line.

J: (unintelligible)

CHE: Here go somebody.

J: [It's my turn.
R: [Let me jump.
KI: Okay.
J: Let me jump.
CHE: Ki--, this is yours.
J: Let me jump once, too.
CHE: Whose this? (holding something in hand)
J: Let me jump. Come on. (pushes R) Let me jump, Ki--.
KI: (Begins singing jump rope rhyme) Give it up.
CHE & KI: Live it up. And abbo sasso. One, two, [three, four, five
S: [(unintelligible)
You never jump rope inside.
CHE: Big deal.
S: Ready to go?
CHE: Okay, you can jump with me. Cm'on.
R: No. (both C and R in position to jump rope together) It's my rope.
(R pulling rope away from C)

Table 7 shows the frequency of initiations and responses across all language functions in the segment.

Table 7

Frequency of Initiations and Responses across All Language Functions, Segment K-4

	Initiation				Response			
Speaker	Event	Event Mgt.	Mgt. Pro.	C.C.	Event	Event Mgt.	Mgt. Pro.	C.C.
C	18(1+)				2		1	
K				1	1		2(+)	
R	3							
J	6							
S	1		3					1

From this display, we see that most of the children's talk falls into the event category.

However, there is also a noticeable amount of management procedure language used by the children. Only two of the other segments have as much, and one is the group lesson with the teacher clearly present. In this segment, utterances such as "Miss P. doesn't know you're in here," and "You never jump rope inside," reveals some classroom rules that the children are clearly supposed to be aware of and follow. It seems that one such rule is that one can be in the classroom unaccompanied only if the teacher is aware of that fact; the other is obviously that indoor jump-roping is forbidden. One interesting thing about these examples, particularly the second, is that they almost seem to be quotations of the rule, repeated as they have been uttered by the

teacher. That feature of quoting the teacher probably has the function of legitimizing the speaker's authority, i.e., 'My utterance is legitimate because we all know what the rules are and I'm merely stating the rule that you already know.' As mentioned, this segment takes place during a transition time, a time in which the course of events is by nature somewhat ambiguous. That ambiguity may explain the use of management procedure language by the children, i.e., 'It's not quite clear what is going on here, so we will structure the time by overtly stating the rules.' Also, rules are clearly being broken, probably by virtue of the ambiguous nature of the transition time, and there is a need to re-state them.

We see from Table 8 that most of the event talk has a control function, although there are instances of all the major functions. It is interesting to notice that there are no examples of utterances in the Event Management category, and it should be pointed out that this may be an artifact of coding. That is, in some segments, it is not difficult to see the difference between control language in the event and control language in the management of the event. In Segment 2, for example, an example of the former would be:

* Make food right! (Control, Event)

while an example of the latter would be:

* You can't play with us, D—. (Control, Event Management)

That is, we can distinguish the control language between participants within the 'playing house' event, from the control language that relates to the successful carrying-out of that event, e.g., who gets to play, what will be played, etc. In other segments such as this jump-rope sequence, or the group lesson with the teacher, the distinction between event language and event management language is much more problematic, because the use of control language within the event could be said to be the same things as event management, that is, to constitute event management. It may turn out that the event-event management distinction is useful only for certain types of

Table 8

Frequency of Utterances by Major Function Category, Segment K-4

		Initiation				Response			
Function	Spkr	Event	Event Mgt.	Mgt. Pro.	C.C.	Event	Event Mgt.	Mgt. Pro.	C.C.
I. INFORM	Che	2(1+)							
	Ki								
	R								
	J	1							
	S								
II. CONTROL	Che	11				1			
	Ki				1				
	R	2				1			
	J	5							
	S			1					1
III. ASK/ REQUEST	Che	3							
	Ki								
	R								
	J								
	S	1							
IV. GIVE	Che	2				1		1	
	Ki					1			
	R					1			
	J								
	S			1					
V. MODIFY	Che								
	Ki					1		2(+)	
	R	1				1			
	J								
	S								

interaction, ones in which there is essentially an 'event within an event', the first one usually being a 'pretend' event.

There is a fascinating dynamic at work in this segment which should be discussed briefly. We noticed in Segment 2 that TA showed more use of control language in the event and event management categories, data which substantiate the researcher's impression that TA is in fact "running the show," directing the event. That is, her use of control functions matches her actual control. In Segment 4, most of the control language is used by CHE, with some instances from R and J. There is strong evidence, however, that KI is perceived as the controller, the decision maker--CHE does give unsolicited permission, but in the instances where permission is sought for a turn to jump, it is sought from KI. And yet KI uses control language only in an interaction that has nothing to do with the jump-rope event, and actually says very little during the whole segment. The irony of the whole situation is that the rope for which permission is being sought belongs not to KI, but to R, who is unsuccessfully trying to get it back.

Finally, there is very limited occurrence of dialect features in this segment.

Segment #5: The Sandtable, small group interaction without teacher

This segment was videotaped on June 9, 1981, between 9:10-9:40 a.m., following the opening of school. It takes place during the time designated for a variety of activities, and involves a number of different children playing at the sandtable. It should be recalled that there is an overt rule in this classroom concerning the sandtable. That is, only four children are allowed to play there at once, and one child may not start playing until another has formally left. The children seem to be particularly aware of this rule, perhaps because the sandtable is clearly a favorite place to play. The awareness of the rule comes out in the language of the segment, as seen in the following sample.

R: Y'all. Hey, Eric.

NA: We can still play. We stayin in here until, until the lunchtime. Till this, they come home.

(DE enters, then CHR and NR.)

R: Y'all! Y'all. Bug, bug off these things we got here (unintelligible).

CHR: Ni--, can I play with you.

R: No! Shut up. No, you can't play.

NR: I can play.

R: [No, you can't.

CHR: [Un-un!!!

NR: One, two, three, four, four (pointing to each child).

R: You gotta get out! Move, Nr--.

TCH: What's happening here, Nr--?

CHR: Two people got out and then I came in here and (teacher takes N away) (inaudible)

R: (unintelligible) You can't (unintelligible). We come. Look, y'all. Look. (to K) Gimme the spoon--I need it to make it to take this out. (Grabs spoon.)

KY: (inaudible) I can make your house.

R: No! (inaudible) No! Stop. One, two, three, four (counting children plus herself at sandbox)

TCH: Chr--, _____.

R: Un-hm (inaudible, then begins singing while playing)

G: It's raining today. I mean snowing today.

R: Oh.

G: Snowing today, snowing.

R: (conscious of microphone) Snowing.

DA: Raining and snowing and snowing and I made, I made snow out 'o this.

G: Hey! That's too much!

R: Ha! (unintelligible) (to S) Let me make some. Let me make some. Gimme that. (grabs strainer from S) I'll give it back.

(CHR nudges R.)

CHR: (inaudible)

R: Okay. See you later.

G: Now you makin' me spill it.

R: Let me make some! (holding onto strainer)

G: No.

R: I will give it back to you. (R tries to get strainer, then shovel)

(G pulls shovel away from R.)

G: Now you makin' me to spill it and right here (inaudible) you makin' me to spill it.

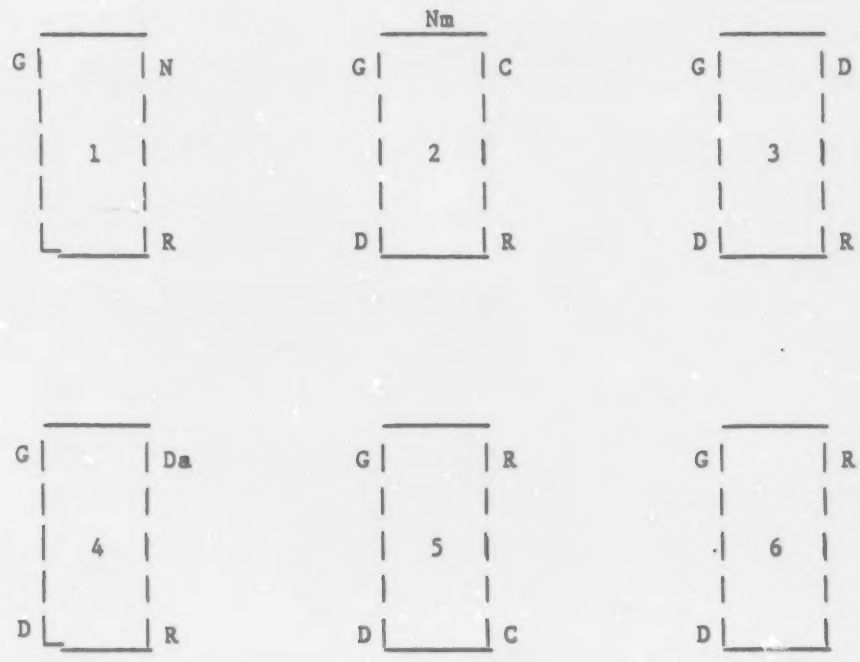
Table 9 shows the initiations and responses across all functions in the whole segment.

Table 9

Frequency of Initiations and Responses across All Language Functions, Segment K-5

	Initiation				Response			
Speaker	Event	Event Mgt.	Mgt. Pro.	C.C.	Event	Event Mgt.	Mgt. Pro.	C.C.
R	42	4			26(3+)	3		
DE	15				2			
NA		2	2(1+)					
G	22(3+)	1			17(6+)		1	
CHR		1	1			1		
NR		2						
TCH			1					

We see from this table that most of the student talk is concentrated in the event category and that three participants do most of the talking. While a total of six children all spend time at the sandtable during the course of the segment; the three participants who do most of the talking are the three that are consistently present throughout the segment. The movement to and from the sandtable during the segment can be diagrammed in six separate stages, as follows:



It is not particularly remarkable that the children who spend the most time at the table are the ones who talk the most. However, it is interesting that it was the distribution of language use that led to an examination of the movement pattern. A closer look at the language shows that there is extensive use of language either as a means of gaining and maintaining one's own access to the table or as a means to control others' access to it. As an example of gaining and maintaining access, DE announces at the beginning of the segment, "Yes, I can play," and his right to play at the table is not questioned further. G is at the table from the outset of the segment and at one point seems to reestablish her right to be there and to question the right of others by counting the number of children present out loud--"One, two, three, four"--the allowable limit being four. R openly controls other children's access to the table by announcing who can or cannot play: CHR requests permission from NA to play and receives a "No" from R; NR is denied permission and told, "You gotta get out."

The key role of language here is further illustrated in Table 10, the breakdown of the utterances by major function type:

Table 10

Frequency of Utterances by Major Function Category, Segment K-5

		Initiation				Response			
Function	Spkr	Event	Event Mgt.	Mgt. Pro.	C.C.	Event	Event Mgt.	Mgt. Pro.	C.C.
I. INFORM	R	11	1			3			
	De	9							
	Na		2	2(1+)					
	G	14(1+)				3(1+)		1	
	Chr		1						
	Nr		2						
	Tch		2						
II. CONTROL	R	18	3			5(1+)	2		
	De	2				1			
	Na								
	G	3				3(1+)			
	Chr								
	Nr								
	Tch								
III. ASK/ REQUEST	R	6				1			
	De	2							
	Na								
	G	1				1			
	Chr		1						
	Nr								
	Tch			1					
IV. GIVE	R	7				13(1+)	1		
	De	2				1			
	Na								
	G					3			
	Chr						1		
	Nr								
	Tch								
V. MODIFY	R					4(1+)			
	De								
	Na								
	G	3(1+)				7(1+)			
	Chr								
	Nr								
	Tch								

We see from this just how much of R's language is control language. Specifically, in initiations, she has 18 examples of direct directives (event and event management), one indirect directive, and two inferred directives.

This breakdown by major functions also shows a striking contrast in the language use of some speakers in this segment as compared to other segments. For example, during the group project with the teacher (Segment 1), G and R contribute practically nothing. However, in this sandtable segment, they do most of the talking and both of them use functions in all of the function categories. Furthermore, R has a noticeable number of responses in the give function category, specifically confirmations, denials, and comments. These functions occur mainly in the event category. The occurrence of these functions give very solid evidence of R's obvious competence as a participant in conversation—she is not only using inform, control, or modify functions in initiations; she is responding to other children's contributions to the conversation by confirming, commenting or denying. Similarly, G has a noticeable number of modify responses, specifically complaints and protests. These findings have significance for the assessment of these children's ability to use language: the conclusions of such an assessment would be radically different, depending upon which segment was used as a basis. While Segment 1 shows both girls to be reticent and might lead us to the conclusion that they are questionable talkers, Segment 5 reveals them both to have control of a variety of language functions and to be competent conversationalists. This examination of individual speakers wil be returned to later in this chapter.

Finally, there is relatively limited occurrence of dialect features in this segment and interestingly, five of the 12 instances occur in complaints and protests issued by G. This segment has no context comment talk, a fact that matches its sparse occurrence in other segments already discussed.

Segment #6: Farm Corner, small group interaction without teacher

This segment was videotaped on June 9, 1981, between 9:30-10:50 a.m., following the opening of school during the time designated for various activities. The segment involves eight boys playing in the farm corner, and a sample transcript follows:

E: Oh-oh! And the lightning, and the lightning can, can go BOOM! BOOM!
(P giggles)
It strike there. [_____ a little
CS: [Oh-oh! Let's watch,] y'all.
CS: Let's [take]
E: [No!] No! No! Don't take that from him!
CS: Well, then they gonna get striked.
E: You use the other one.
PH: No, that's the middle thing.
E: [See?]
CS: [Use what other thing?]
E: Use _____ from my box.
CS: Oh, sure. (Goes to box with PH.)
E: Don't, don't use the... (CS and PH return.)
CS: Here's some. It already striked again.
E: Un-un. It ain't stricken yet. Put that like this. Put it right here.
CS: Put somethin' right here. (points to barn)
E: Put somethin' right there.
(E goes to box.)
CS: Hey, E--.
PH: I know a guy who went to a fa:::rm.
CS: E--. I think we are in trouble. I hope you know. They, the, rim, the, um, rain took the top off in stripes.
E: I don't know. I, I, I'm, I'm puttin' a lock on it.
CS: Well, the wind can break a lock, you know. But maybe not a steel lock.

E: I know. (unintelligible) [And then
PH: [The wind can't] break no real lock.

CS: Well, what if a tornado came? It could break it.

PH: I know! But it ain't no tornado. If it's a hurricane (unintelligible), but it's no hurricane. [(unintelligible)
CS: [A hurri-] A hurricane. They really the worst storm. Ain't it?

(E shakes head 'no', then CS.)

Table 11 shows the frequency of participant initiations and responses across all language functions in the segment:

Table 11

Frequency of Initiations and Responses across All Language Functions, Segment K-6

	Initiation				Response			
Speaker	Event	Event Mgt.	Mgt. Pro.	C.C.	Event	Event Mgt.	Mgt. Pro.	C.C.
E	62(6+)	36(2+)			31(3+)	2		
CS	45(7+)	30(4+)			12	3		
PH	19(3+)	11(2+)			10(1+)			
DE	32(9+)	9			11			
V	2							
CHR	3	6				1		
KY		2		1		1		
S		3			1		1	
TCH		1				4		

From this table, we see that the children's talk is largely concentrated in the event and event management categories, and that there is a noticeable occurrence of dialect features, as compared to some of the other segments discussed.

Table 12 shows the distribution of utterances by major function category.

Table 12

Frequency of Utterances by Major Function Category, Segment K-6

		Initiation				Response			
Function	Spkr	Event	Event Mgt.	Mgt. Pro.	C.C.	Event	Event Mgt.	Mgt. Pro.	C.C.
I.	E	13(3+)	12			11(1+)	1		
INFORM	CS	22(4+)	11(4+)			5	1		
	PH	10(3+)	1(+)			5(1+)			
	DE	19(5+)	3			4			
	V	1							
	CHR	1							
	KY		1		1				
	S								
	TCH						1		
II.	E	32(1+)	19(2+)			4	1	1	
CONTROL	CS	14(2+)	13						
	PH	4	5						
	DE	6				2			
	V								
	CHR	1	3						
	KY		1						
	S		4						
	TCH		1						
III.	E	4				1(+)			
ASK/	CS	6(1+)	3			1			
REQUEST	PH	5				1			
	DE	7(4+)	4						
	V	2(1+)							
	CHR	5(1+)	1						
	KY								
	S								
	TCH		1				1		
IV.	E	4	1			13(1+)			
GIVE	CS	3							
	PH		1			4			
	DE					2			
	V								
	CHR								
	KY								
	S					1			
	TCH						1		
V.	E	4(2+)	4			2			
MODIFY	CS		3			1	2		
	PH		4(1+)						
	DE		2			3			
	V								
	CHR						1		
	KY						1		
	S							1	
	TCH								

From this table, we see that utterances occur in all of the major function categories, with most of the activity being in the inform, control, and ask categories. This breakdown provides clear insight into the nature of the interaction between the participants in this segment. For example, a look at the videotape and the transcript of this segment suggests that two participants, E and CS, are directing the flow of events. Evidence for this comes from exchanges such as:

CS: We have to put that big boy out o'here, Ph--.
E: Yeah. Put it in here.
CS: We have to keep this thing outside.
E: Yeah.

OR

E: Why don't you all leave (pause)...every, every, everybody ain't playing with us. Everybody ain't playing with us.
S: Yeah.
E: So that means V-- has to leave.

OR

CS: And guess what? You could be in charge of the floor? And if everybody, if you hear something down on the floor, then you have to go, and then you have to go and get 'im. Okay? 'Kay, like I'm in charge of this, I'm in charge of this, and you in charge of the floor; E--, you come (unintelligible) and Ph--'s in charge of this. [And E--,...
KY: [No, Cs--. I'm] not playin.
CS: (to KY) You in charge of the floor.
E: Uhn-uhn. I'm in charge of the floor.
CS: No, he's in charge of this.
E: Now I'm in charge of the barnhouse.
CS: Uhn-Uhn! I'm in charge of that 'cause I had it first. And I, but I'm not in charge of the, uh, ani[mals.
E: [Animals.]
I'm in charge of them.

The other participants in the segment have varying status, PH having the most, and CHR, DE, and V having respectively less. In the overall social structure of the classroom, KY is certainly as strong as CS and E, all three of them emerging from this investigation as classroom leaders. KY's apparent lack of strength in this segment is simply due to his sporadic presence.

If we return to the breakdown of utterances by major function category, we see that E and CS make the most contributions both in the Inform and the Control categories. Based on the contributions in the Control category, E seems to have the most power in determining the course of events. However, the utterances by the other children in the Inform category also seem to have the function of shaping the course of events. In this category, we find examples of the Define/Establish function, e.g.,

E: The horses have to go in one place.

*

DE: This the barnyard.

as well as numerous examples of the report function, e.g.,

CS: I'm getting my colt. I'm gonna get my horses.

*

PH: I put this one, I put this one right here.

*

DE: I'm gonna take farm over this way over here.

As we mentioned, this segment takes place during the time designated for a variety of activities, and the boys are playing freely in the farm corner. Any structure to the event is generated by the participants, and not imposed by the teacher or by the nature of the event, as might be the case, for example, in a whole group lesson. That is, the boys themselves are clearly providing the structure and they are doing so largely through language. They are defining what they are doing by talking about what they are doing. There is a very real sense in which, in this segment that consists largely of pre-

tend events, saying is doing. Moreover, this performative convention is clearly and easily accepted by all participants. Language here has a very special and vital function in constituting reality, and the participants are skilled at using language for that function. It should be noted that we find a similar situation in Segment 2, in which CHE and TA are playing house. In fact, Segment 2 has the highest occurrences of the Define/Establish function.

The difference in use of Inform and Control functions reveals differences in the children's relative status in the groups. That is, E seems to have the highest status and the most power, as revealed by his greater use of Control functions, while the other participants direct the event through Inform functions. Furthermore, DE provides evidence for his relatively low status through use of a strategy that is clearly familiar to the other children but which they do not use until DE joins that group: that is, an appeal to the teacher's authority, otherwise known as tattling.

Finally, there is a noticeably greater occurrence of dialect features in this segment. Table 13 shows the occurrence of dialect by major function category, across all the kindergarten segments that have been discussed.

Table 13

Occurrence of Dialect Features across All Kindergarten Segments, by Major Function Category

(percent of total number of utterances in segment)

Segment	Function	Initiation				Response			
		Event	Event Mgt.	Mgt. Pro.	C.C.	Event	Event Mgt.	Mgt. Pro.	C.C.
1	Inform	1.1	1.5		1.3		1.3		
	Control				1.3				
	Ask	2.7			1.3				
	Give								
	Modify	2.7							
2	Inform	10.3	1.0		1.0	0.5			
	Control	1.0	0.5						
	Ask	1.0				0.5			
	Give								
	Modify	1.0							
3	Inform								
	Control								
	Ask								
	Give								
	Modify		4.0				4.0		
4	Inform	2.3							
	Control								
	Ask								
	Give								
	Modify							4.6	
5	Inform	0.7		0.7		0.7			
	Control					1.4			
	Ask								
	Give					0.7			
	Modify	1.4				2.8			
6	Inform	4.3	1.4			0.5			
	Control	0.8	0.5			0.2			
	Ask	2.0							
	Give					0.2			
	Modify	0.5	0.2						

We see from this that the occurrence of dialect features is not very remarkable in any of the segments. However, the occurrence in Segments 2 and 6 stands out from the other four segments, particularly in the Inform function category. The greater occurrence of dialect features in these two segments seems to be directly related to the nature of the events in the segments. What distinguishes these two segments is that they consist largely of pretend events--playing house or running a barnyard--events that are clearly understood by the participants to be ideally taking place in some place other than a kindergarten classroom. It follows that the language used would be that considered appropriate for settings outside the classroom, hence the greater occurrence of dialect features. What is remarkable is the apparent sensitivity in these young children as to which language forms are appropriate for which settings. It is clearly a developing sensitivity, as we see that there is some occurrence of dialect features in the presence of the teacher. We will find this to be in sharp contrast with the 4th grade data, for example, which reveal categorical absence of dialect features in the presence of the teacher.

It is also interesting to note that a number of dialect features occur in the Modify function category. Examples include utterances such as:

G: Now you makin' me to spill it!

or

R: It ain't dirt--it's sand!

What is striking about these and the other examples is the element of protest and of emotional involvement of the speaker. We may want to speculate that in a setting in which dialect usage is understood by the participants to be inappropriate, it is acceptable if it accompanies language functions concerning protest about or modification of an unacceptable state of affairs.

Table 14 provides a picture of language usage in all six kindergarten segments, by major function category.

Table 14

Comparison of All Kindergarten Segments,
by Major Function Categories

(percent of function type by focus over total functions in segment)

Seg-ment	Function	Initiation				Response			
		Event	Event Mgt.	Mgt. Pro.	C.C.	Event	Event Mgt.	Mgt. Pro.	C.C.
1	Inform	13.7	1.9	3.9	1.9	3.1	1.9	0	0
	Control	12.1	1.1	18.8	1.1	5.0	.3	.3	0
	Ask	15.6	.3	1.1	1.1	.3	0	0	0
	Give	2.7	0	1.9	.7	7.4	0	.7	.7
	Modify	2.7	.3	1.1	0	2.3	1.5	0	0
2	Inform	39.1	2.0	0	3.6	4.1	.5	0	.5
	Control	13.9	3.0	1.0	7.2	2.5	.5	0	0
	Ask	4.1	.5	0	.5	2.5	0	0	0
	Give	1.5	0	0	1.5	3.6	.5	0	1.5
	Modify	3.0	0	0	0	2.0	0	0	0
3	Inform	8.0	4.0	0	4.0	0	4.0	0	0
	Control	0	28.0	28.0	0	0	12.0	0	0
	Ask	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Give	0	0	0	0	0	4.0	0	0
	Modify	0	4.0	0	0	0	4.0	0	0
4	Inform	9.3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Control	41.8	0	2.3	2.3	4.6	0	0	2.3
	Ask	9.3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Give	4.6	0	2.3	0	6.9	0	2.3	0
	Modify	2.3	0	2.3	0	4.6	0	4.6	0
5	Inform	23.7	4.1	2.0	0	4.1	0	.6	0
	Control	16.0	2.0	0	0	6.2	1.3	0	0
	Ask	6.9	.6	.6	0	1.3	0	0	0
	Give	6.2	0	0	0	11.8	1.3	0	0
	Modify	2.0	0	0	0	7.6	0	0	0
6	Inform	20.3	8.6	0	.2	7.2	.8	0	0
	Control	16.4	13.2	0	0	1.7	.5	0	0
	Ask	8.3	2.6	0	0	.8	.2	0	0
	Give	2.0	.5	0	0	7.2	.2	0	0
	Modify	1.1	3.7	0	0	1.7	1.1	.2	0

From this table, we can see the overall trends in functional language usage for the six segments discussed. In the event with the teacher, while there are utterances in all function categories, most of the activity is in the Inform, Control, and Ask categories, in Event Initiation. Furthermore, most of the Control language in the segment is produced by the teacher. This is in contrast to the segments without the teacher, in which management language appears to be a function of the nature of the event and the specific configuration of participants. For example, in the two segments that consist of an event within an event--the two girls playing house (#2) and the boys in the farm corner (#6)--there is both Event and Event Management control language. This is also the case in the sandtable segment (#5). While it doesn't involve an "event within an event" (that is, a separate, make-believe activity), and while most of the control language is in the Event category, there is some in the Event Management category. By contrast, the control language in the jumprope segment (#4) occurs only in the Event category. In the short farm corner segment (#3), control language occurs only in the Event Management category. The situation may be summarized as follows: When the children are at least partially responsible for defining the nature of the event at hand, we see control language in both the Event and the Event Management categories. When the nature of the event is clearly defined, such as in the jumprope sequence, there is no need for event management, and the control language occurs accordingly only in the Event category. Finally, when the nature of the event and the roles of participants are relatively unclear, control language is concentrated in the Event Management category.

We notice increases in the Inform and Control functions in segments where the teacher is not present, as well as a decrease in the Ask function in the same segments. With the exception of the short farm corner segment, we see instances of all the major functions in all segments. And while the children clearly use management language, they do not use language for management procedure, that is, the management of the classroom at large. It would appear that management procedure is clearly perceived as the domain of the teacher.

Finally, we notice that there is relatively little talk in any of the segments in the Context Comment category, and that most of the children's

contributions consist of initiations. Most of the responses fall into the Event category.

We have noted that there is more occurrence of dialect features in some segments than in others, leading to the speculation that the children have a developing awareness of what kind of language is appropriate for different settings. This speculation is further supported by an examination of the language usage of individual speakers in different segments. Unfortunately, while there is a great deal of overlap in participation between the butterfly project with the teacher, and the various small groups without the teacher, most of the children's contributions with the teacher were simply not substantial enough for comparison. Such a comparison is possible, however, for two speakers, E and CS, children who clearly emerged as classroom leaders. Table 15 contrasts their language usage in the butterfly project (#1) with language usage in the farm corner segment (#6).

Table 15

Contrast of Language Usage of Individual Speakers, by Segment

		Segment 1 (Butterfly) with teacher		Segment 6 (Farm Corner) without teacher	
Spkr	Function	Initiation	Response	Initiation	Response
E	Inform	22.2	7.4	22.9	9.1 (1+)
	Control	11.1	0	38.9 (3+)	3.8
	Ask	40.7 (1+)	0	3.0	.7 (1+)
	Give	0	7.4	3.8	10.0 (1+)
	Modify	11.1 (1+)	0	6.1 (2+)	1.5
		Dialect = 2/27 = 7%		Dialect = 8/131 = 16.3%	
CS	Inform	41.6 (1+)	8.3	36.6 (8+)	6.6
	Control	8.3	0	30.0 (2+)	0
	Ask	8.3	0	10.0 (1+)	1.1
	Give	16.6	16.6	3.3	5.5
	Modify	0	0	3.3	3.3
		Dialect = 1/12 = 8.3%		Dialect = 11/90 = 12.2%	

Several interesting trends emerge from this table. In E's case, while we don't see a significant increase in the Inform category, there is a noticeable increase in control functions in the farm corner, and a decrease in Ask functions. He shows a slight increase in overall dialect usage in the farm corner, and dialect features occur in the Inform and Control function categories in the farm corner segment, but are absent in the same function categories in the butterfly project with the teacher. The same pattern occurs for CS, with a maintenance of utterances in Inform, and increase in Control, and a decrease in Ask. CS shows a sharper increase in overall occurrences of dialect features, and he also uses dialect features in the farm corner with functions that occur without dialect features in the butterfly project. The one point of contrast between the two children is in response behavior: while E shows an increase in response behavior in the farm corner, CS shows a decrease. This may reflect E's relatively higher status, his responses being a way of directing the flow of events.

As mentioned in the discussion of Segment 5, the examination of individual speakers also reveals some very straightforward facts about the sheer volume of children's language production that has important implications for assessment of children's language competence. Table 16 provides data on the language production of three speakers in two different settings, the butterfly project with the teacher, and in peer/peer settings or small group interaction.

Table 16

Comparison of Three Individual Speakers in Events
With and Without Teacher

(% of given function out of child's total functions in the event)

		Segment 1 (Butterfly) with teacher		Segment 2 (Peer/Peer) without teacher	
Spkr	Function	Initiation	Response	Initiation	Response
CHE	Inform	0	0	46.3 (9+)	3.6
	Control	0	0	25.6	1.2
	Ask	100	0	3.6	6.0 (1+)
	Give	0	0	4.8	4.8
	Modify	0	0	3.6 (2+)	0
TA	Inform	0	0	45.7 (15+)	5.6 (1+)
	Control	0	0	24.2 (3+)	3.7
	Ask	0	0	5.6 (2+)	0
	Give	0	0	1.8	6.5
	Modify	0	100	2.8	3.7
R	Inform	20.0	0	16.9	4.2
	Control	0	0	29.5	5.6 (1+)
	Ask	20.0	0	8.4	1.4
	Give	0	0	9.8	18.3 (1+)
	Modify	20.0	40.0	0	5.6 (1+)

While CHE, TA, and R are all consistently present during the butterfly project, their contributions to the conversation are limited or nonexistent. The contrast between their linguistic contributions in a group with the teacher and in one-on-one or small group interaction is dramatic. In the latter, all three girls reveal competence in all function categories and the ability to use language functionally. There is also the occurrence of dialect features which may reveal a developing awareness of language appropriateness. Were the language competence of these girls to be evaluated based solely on their interaction with the teacher or with an external evaluator, the resulting picture would be strikingly different from an evaluation based on their interaction with peers.

This discussion is of course reminiscent of Labov's work on the effect of the interview setting on children's language production. In his 1972 study, he pointed out that "...the power relationships in a one-to-one confrontation between adult and child are too asymmetrical. This does not mean that some Black children will not talk a great deal when alone with an adult, or that an adult cannot get close to any child. It means that the social situation is the most powerful determinant of verbal behavior and that an adult must enter into the right social relation with a child if he wants to find out what a child can do." (1972:212) Entering into the right social relation with a child as a key for valid assessment was also a central concern for a pioneering study in children's functional language, undertaken at the Center for Applied Linguistics (Griffin and Shuy, 1978). The data base for this study included videotapes of naturally-occurring classroom events and videotapes of corpus extension interviews, that is, interviews conducted by the researchers with individual children to elicit instances of language functions including directives, praise solicitation, convincing, and explaining. These interviews were very carefully constructed to accommodate and incorporate the details of each individual's real life situation. The successful use of the corpus extension technique suggests the feasibility of contextualizing the assessment of children's functional language ability.

The present study, specifically the data from individual speakers, further illustrates the central role of the interactional setting upon which

the assessment of children's language competence is based. Given the implications that this assessment typically has for a child's entire educational career, it seems imperative that such assessment be based on a variety of interactional settings, and take into account children's clear linguistic sensitivity to the difference in participant structures and social settings.

In summary, we can say that this investigation of six events within the kindergarten have revealed the following trends in functional language use:

* In a teacher-directed event, the teacher is chiefly responsible for management language.

* Children's contributions are largely Initiations, with Responses being mostly in the Event category.

* There is relatively little talk devoted to the context unrelated to the event at hand.

* Children use Event Management/Control language in segments in which the nature of the event and the roles of participants are unclear.

* Children use both Event Management/Control and Event/Control language when they are partially responsible for defining the nature of the event.

* Children use no Event Management/Control language when the nature of the event is clear.

* Children as a group display clear competence in all the major function categories.

* Children display an awareness of the appropriateness of certain language forms in certain interactional settings.

* The volume of the children's contributions varies as a function of teacher presence.

C. The Teaching and Learning of Turn-Taking Strategies

The following piece of conversation is from the kindergarten corpus. It is part of a whole-group discussion during the opening of school. The discussion concerns the activities scheduled for the day and how many children will be allowed to participate in each activity.

TCH: Now over in the math center, everybody wants to get to the rice and the measuring today but what would happen if we all went over there?
S: I know.
S: Everybody
S: Everybody would
S: Everybody would spill
S: Everybody would
S: Everybody, everybody...
**S: Stop talking, ya'll. At the same time.
S: Every...some people might get hurt.
S: [No!
S: [Somebody might] knock over the whole box of sand.
**TCH: [and you all...
[I like the way E—] and R—...R—, would you tell us what would happen if we all went over there to the math center today?
(E and R have hands up)

The utterances that are of particular interest here are the ones marked with **, one spoken by a child and one by the teacher. These utterances are of interest because they constitute overt references to the turn-taking system. The student's utterance is a comment on the fact that the system seems to have temporarily broken down. It is also an attempt to repair the system or to restore order by issuing a directive for silence. The teacher's utterance provides positive feedback for those who have raised their hands as opposed to those who have simply called out.

Recent work in the area of classroom discourse has contrasted the turn-taking system of everyday conversation with those of classroom discourse. Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson describe the turn-taking mechanism for everyday conversation whereby (1) one party speaks at a time, (2) speaker change recurs, and (3) conversation is accomplished with precise timing—"no gap, no overlap." "Turn-allocation techniques are described whereby a current speaker may select a next speaker (as when he addresses a question to another party); or parties may self-selected in starting to talk" (1974:700-701). In earlier writings, Sacks (1972) discusses complaints that speakers make with reference to various features of the conversational system. Speaker complaints may have to do with being interrupted, with difficulty in making a contribution to the conversation, or with not getting an answer to a question (as cited in Griffin and Humphrey, 1973). In comparing these characteristics of everyday conversation to those of classroom discourse, Mehan points out that "everyday" conversation does not share many of the features associated with classroom conversation, such as the invitation to bid and invitation to reply procedures. Conversely, the options available in everyday conversation for speaker allocation are not used

> in equivalent ways during classroom lessons. Turn allocation...is almost exclusively of the 'current speaker selects next speaker' type. In fact, the individual nomination, invitation to bid, and invitation to reply procedures can be seen as specific practices by which the teacher, as current speaker, selects the students as next speaker.... Speakers in lessons cannot take the floor at the end of every turn as they can in everyday conversation. (1979:191-192)

Mehan aptly characterizes the turn-taking situation in classroom lessons as a situation in which "turn-taking options are transformed into turn-allocation procedures" (Ibid., p. 191).

Earlier in his discussion of classroom turn-taking rules (and with reference to the work of Garfinkel, 1967, and Cicourel, 1973), Mehan observes that "classroom turn-taking rules, like other normative rules, are tacit. They are

seldom formulated, listed, or stated in so many words" (Ibid., p. 102). Similarly, Griffin and Humphrey (1978) refer to teachers' mini-lessons on bids and to their sanctions on the occasions of violations as "overt teaching" of turn-taking rules, but add that such overt teaching is rare. This observation brings to mind Gumperz' observations concerning the "automatic types of behavior that are not ordinarily commented on, but which nevertheless guide interactions of students performance" (1981:6). He points out that successful access to learning is dependent upon a knowledge of the behavioral strategies "required to gain the teacher's attention or to obtain entry into a place of study and secure cooperation of the peer group" (Ibid., p. 7), which certainly include turn-taking strategies.

Let us now turn our attention to the piece of conversation presented at the beginning of this section and to the kindergarten corpus of which it is a part. This corpus turned out to be very interesting in terms of turn-taking mechanisms. Classroom turn-taking strategies are clearly being used, but there are also many examples of "next speaker self-selects" and of speaker taking the floor at the end of a turn, as well as several examples of overt reference to the turn-taking system made by the children and the teacher. There would seem to be contrasts, then, with Mehan's observations about classroom turn-taking. It is important to note that Mehan's study focuses on a combined first, second and third grade classroom, while we are looking at a kindergarten classroom. In view of this difference in focus and of the preliminary observations of turn-taking in the kindergarten, several questions emerge that will structure the discussion:

1. If there is indeed a difference between the mechanism of everyday conversation and the mechanism of classroom conversation, wouldn't we expect to see evidence of children learning to use the latter?

2. If there is such evidence of learning, is it restricted to overt references to turn-taking rules (be they references to breaches or successes), or is there evidence of learning in the use of the mechanism as well?

3. In light of the overt references to turn-taking, can we indeed say that it can be described as an automatic type of behavior, tacitly learned?

These are the questions that we will consider in this chapter. The discussion will focus on four separate segments of conversation, as follows:

1. 9:00 a.m., 8 June. School opening and whole group discussion about seeds, berries, and planting.

2. 11:15-11:28 a.m., 8 June. Whole group before lunch, reading and discussion of a story about a caterpillar.

3. 1:15 p.m., 8 June. Whole group, reading and discussion of a story (The Good Neighbor) before nap-time.

4. 9:00-9:10 a.m., 9 June. School opening and whole-group discussion about the day's activities.

In all these segments, three basic strategies for getting a turn at talk were identified: (1) the raising of hands, (2) the use of the teacher's name, i.e., "Miss P!" and (3) simply talking. This third strategy corresponds to the "next speaker self-selects" strategy described by Sachs et al. It also amounts to a child successfully taking the floor, usually at an appropriate juncture. These three strategies also occur in combination with each other, i.e., hand up and teacher's name, hand up and talk, either with a very brief lapse or simultaneously, and teacher's name and talk.

Table 17 shows the frequency with which the various strategies occurred in Segment 1. The different points in the discourse were:

- following a teacher's question,
- following the teacher's nomination of specific child,
- at the junction of either the teacher's contribution or a student's contribution, and
- during the teacher's or student's turn, i.e., overlap.

Table 17

Frequency of Turn-Taking Strategies in Segment 1

Strategy	Point in Discourse					
	Following Teacher Question	Following Teacher Nomination	At Teacher Junction	During Teacher Turn	At Student Junction	During Student Turn
Hand up	13	2	15	1	1	8
"Miss P"	1	1	4	2	4	3
Talk	19	-	-	3	1	-
Hand & "Miss P"	-	-	-	1	-	-
Hand & talk	1	-	3	-	1	-
"Miss P" & talk	1	-	4	5	1	-

We see from this display that the most frequently used strategy is hands up, followed closely by talking. We notice that hands up occurs overwhelmingly, and not surprisingly, as a response to a question from the teacher, or at what has been designated as a teacher-junction, that is, the end of a teacher's contribution that is not an elicitation. It is interesting to note that talk does not occur by itself at such junctures, but is restricted largely to the turn following a teacher's question. While the children raise their hands during each other's turns, they do not speak unless it is to use a turn-taking strategy by itself (e.g., "Miss P"). Similarly, except for three instances, talk during the teacher's turn is accomplished by a hand up or by "Miss P." Segment 1, which, as we recall, consists of a school opening and a whole-group discussion, is in fairly sharp contrast with Segment 2, the reading and discussion of a story. Tables 18a and 18b show the distribution of strategies for that segment.

Table 18a

Frequency of Turn-Taking Strategies during Story, Segment 2

	Point in Discourse						
Strategy	Following Teacher Question	Following Teacher Nomination	At Teacher Junction	During Teacher Turn	At Student Junction	During Student Turn	Total
Hand up							
"Miss P"							
Talk	8		13	4	10	1	36
Hand and "Miss P"							
Hand & talk	1						
"Miss P" and talk							

Table 18b

Frequency of Turn-Taking Strategies during Discussion of Story, Segment 2

Strategy	Point in Discourse						
	Following Teacher Question	Following Teacher Nomination	At Teacher Junction	During Teacher Turn	At Student Junction	During Student Turn	Total
Hand up	1		1			2	4
"Miss P"			1	3	2	1	7
Talk	11	2	13	7	3	6	39
Hand and "Miss P"					1		1
Hand & talk	1						1
"Miss P" and talk			3	1	1	1	6

It should be noted that the actual reading of the story was preceded by a very brief introduction by the teacher, accompanied by comments from the children. Turn-taking strategies used during the reading of the story were considered separately from those used during the discussion. This separation was motivated by the teacher's own verbal separation of the events: when she finished reading the story, she opened the discussion of it with the question, "What do you like about this story?" The separation also seems to be justified, as the only strategy used during the reading of the story is talk, while the whole range of strategies occurs during the discussion.

In comparison to the school opening and discussion of Segment 1, we see that the most frequently occurring strategy both during the story and during the discussion of Segment 2 is talk. During the discussion, talk may be accompanied by hands up or by use of the teacher's name. The contrast between the frequency of hands up in Segment 1 and the mere four occurrences in Segment 2 is also striking.

A similar pattern is found in Segment 3, the reading and discussion of a story later in the same day. In this segment, the reading of the story is preceded by a fairly long discussion of the meaning of "good neighbor." As seen in Table 19a, while talk alone is still the most commonly used strategy, some others do occur.

Table 19a

Frequency of Turn-Taking Strategies Before Story, Segment 3

	Point in Discourse						
Strategy	Following Teacher Question	Following Teacher Nomination	At Teacher Junction	During Teacher Turn	At Student Junction	During Student Turn	Total
Hand up	2		1	1		2	6
"Miss P"	1		5	4		1	11
Talk	10		2	7	17	5	36
Hand and "Miss P"							
Hand & talk	1						1
"Miss P" and talk		1		1			2

During the reading of the story, the only strategy used is talk. There are 29 instances of children's contributions during the reading, 21 of which occur at an apropriate juncture or following a teacher question. The eight remaining contributions occur during the teacher's turn. And talk is almost exclusively the only strategy occurring after the reading of the story. Here again, the end of the story and the beginning of the discussion is a transition clearly marked by the teacher with "I like that story. Do you like that?" Hence, the separation consideration of turn-taking strategies is justified.

Figure 19b shows the distribution of strategies in this discussion.

Table 19b

Frequency of Turn-Taking Strategies during Discussion of Story, Segment 3

Strategy	Point in Discourse						
	Following Teacher Question	Following Teacher Nomination	At Teacher Junction	During Teacher Turn	At Student Junction	During Student Turn	Total
Hand up "Miss P"					1		1
Talk	5	1		3	1		10
Hand and "Miss P"							
Hand & talk "Miss P" and talk				1	1		2

Segment 4 consists of a school opening and a discussion of the day's activities. Since both Segment 1 and Segment 4 are whole-group discussions (as opposed to the reading and discussion of stories), one might expect them to have a similar distribution of turn-taking strategies. However, the segments are remarkably dissimilar. Segment 4 was divided into two sections, the division again motivated by the teacher's behavior. While the whole segment takes place at the opening of the day, the first section takes place before the "formal opening," and consists of the singing of two songs, and general whole group conversation about a play recently performed by the class. The "formal opening" is marked by the end of a song and by the teacher saying, "Thank you, children. You may take your seats," and "Who was opening school for us today?" Once the answer to that question has been determined (E), the children proceed with the pledge of allegiance, the singing of "My Country 'Tis of Thee," and a discussion of the day's activities.

Tables 20a and 20b show the distribution of turn-taking strategies for both sections.

Table 20a

Frequency of Turn-Taking Strategies Before Formal Opening, Segment 4

	Point in Discourse						
Strategy	Following Teacher Question	Following Teacher Nomination	At Teacher Junction	During Teacher Turn	At Student Junction	During Student Turn	Total
Hand up	1		1				2
"Miss P"			2	3			5
Talk	9	2	19	12	30	5	77
Hand and "Miss P"							
Hand & talk							
"Miss P" and talk				2	1	1	4

Table 20b

Frequency of Turn-Taking Strategies Following Formal Opening, Segment 4

	Point in Discourse						
Strategy	Following Teacher Question	Following Teacher Nomination	At Teacher Junction	During Teacher Turn	At Student Junction	During Student Turn	Total
Hand up	3		1	1	2		7
"Miss P"			1	4		5	
Talk	8	2	28	15	9	1	64
Hand and "Miss P"							
Hand & talk	2		2	1	2		3
"Miss P" and talk					1		1

Despite the division, the two sections are similar in terms of strategy distribution. The most commonly used strategy in both is talk alone or talk in combination with hands or the teacher's name. A striking contrast lies in the low incidence of hands up in Segment 4 (total nine), as opposed to 40 instances in Segment 1. Also notable in Segment 4 is the high incidence of talk during the teacher's turn--31 instances, as opposed to eight in Segment 1.

Given the description of strategy distribution in each segment, questions naturally arise as to how to account for the differences in strategy distribution among the four segments.

We have examined two instances of story reading with accompanying discussion, and two instances of school openings. A story reading with a discussion and a school opening are clearly two different types of event. This difference must be perceived by the participants in the events as well, as the turn-taking strategies are different. However, the major difference lies between Segment 1 and the other three segments. We have seen that Segment 1 is marked by a high incidence of hands-up, while the most predominant strategy in the other three is simply talk. It is not difficult to understand why story reading and discussion might be perceived as a special event during which the turn-taking rules for other whole group events may not necessarily hold. Segments 1 and 4, however, are both school openings. How can we account for the strong contrast between the two in turn-taking strategies?

The answer seems to relate to the difference in the topic of the whole group discussion. In Segment 1, while still a school opening, the discussion does not focus on procedural matters or on the organization of the day. Rather, the discussion centers around berries, seeds and planting, with the gradual building of a body of information. The focus of the discussion is clearly academic. Segment 4, on the other hand, centers around management, on what activities are available and how many children can participate in each activity. The difference in the topic or focus of the whole group discussion seems to be reflected in the turn-takng strategies used. What is striking is the strong effect of the academic discussion on the use of hands up. The

children clearly perceive this to be a different kind of event, with different turn-taking rules to be followed.

While Segment 1 is perceived as one in which more rigid turn-taking rules are to be used, there seems to be a growing awareness that hand-raising might be appropriate in other kinds of group discussions as well, even though the content is not academic. Evidence for this awareness comes from the overt references to breaches or successes in turn-taking. Interestingly, in Segment 1, only the teacher makes overt references to problems with the system, e.g.,

- I think someone else wants to share with us.
- ...And then I saw Na--'s hand. She wants to share something with us.
- Excuse me, she wants to talk with me. Excuse me.
- I'm sorry, I am not going to call on you until you stop yelling out.

However, in Segments 2, 3, and 4, overt references are made both by the teacher and by the children. The example that introduced the discussion is one such reference. Other examples in that segment (4) include:

TCH: Some people did raise their hands and some didn't. Yes, son. (E had hand up; lowers it and speaks)

E: You...because, the reason why we can't, can't go over there at the same time, we, we'd be pushing and shoving and fighting and yelling at each other.

TCH: Oh.

C: And we won't, and we won't have to... (raises hand at end of turn)

TCH: But you did not raise your hand.

Later in the same segment, this example occurs:

TCH: Of course you wouldn't have fun.
C: And you'll be, and...
TCH: Excuse me.
E: Miss P is talking.

Following a particularly noisy sequence in the discussion of the caterpillar story, one child remarks:

E: Miss P wants to talk.

Finally, an example of experimentation with turn-taking that precedes the reading of The Good Neighbor:

CHILDREN: Miss P! Miss P! Miss P!

TEACHER: My name is not Miss P, not for a few minutes, not ['til after this story.

S: [Miss P!]

TEACHER: No Miss P. "Good Neighbors."

S: Miss Teacher!

The latter example is highly reminiscent of an instance noted by Florio wherein the teacher reacted to a similar situation by saying, "No, no, no. I'm gonna change my name" (1978:125). All of the examples cited are evidence for both the teaching and learning of turn-taking strategies. The teacher's comments seem to focus on the connection between a strategy appropriately used and a contribution to the conversation. When a child speaks without raising his/her hand, the teacher is essentially saying that the result is an invalid

contribution. The children's comments seem to focus on 'one speaker talks at a time' ("Stop talkin', ya'll. At the same time.") and on the difference in turn-taking prerogatives between the teacher and the children. The teacher does not seem to have to rise her hand--she can speak when she wishes, and that is a turn-taking fact that needs to be recognized. Furthermore, it is clearly inappropriate to talk during a teacher's turn. What is interesting here is not so much that these are turn-taking realities--rather, overt reference to them seems to indicate that they are facts in the process of being learned by the children. The last example ("Miss Teacher!") shows the learning is half-done: the child clearly recognizes the function of Miss P! as a turn-taking device, but fails to see that what the teacher objects to is not the lexical item but indeed the function of the utterance as a request for a turn.

Another kind of evidence for the teaching and learning of turn-taking came from looking specifically at teacher elicitations and children's responses to them. That is, some teacher questions result in talk only, while some result in talk and hands up. There are also elicitations that result in hands up only. The question arises as to what it is about the teacher's questions that elicit different turn-taking strategies from the children. Figure 20c shows the breakdown of teacher elicitations and turn-taking strategies for Segment 1 (whole group, academic):

Figure 20c

Breakdown of Teacher Elicitations and Turn-taking Strategies, Segment 1

Child response: Hands up	Hands and talk	Only talk
Get hands up only when question addressed to individual children at top of lesson.	Children, tell me about your weekend—what did you do?	Do you know what blackberries are?
	Have you, has anybody seen strawberries grow?	Children, did you hear? N—said that she is going to a country named what?
	Has anyone in here ever gone to pick blackberries?	Today's date is—what did we say the month was?
	Because what time of year is it now?	And today is...what, children?
	What do you suppose is inside of a seed? Anybody has any idea?	And then what's coming down?
	What do you suppose a plant needs in order, or the seed needs in order...?	But what's coming out of here, children?
	What do you suppose happens?	S: The plant?
		Yeah, but what is this part? Kind of like the...
		S: The stems!
		And what will come out from there?
		S: The flower.
		Well, before it gets to flower...
		S: The plant! Excuse me.
		What else? Anybody have any idea?
		What about the leaf? What about the leaf of a plant?
		What do you think has to happen for it to grow?
		Now you know the sun shines how?
		What else comes up?

First of all, we notice that the hands only strategy occurs only in the environment of what Mehan (1979) and others have referred to as individual nomination. That is, the teacher opens the lesson by saying, "Children, tell me about your weekend—what did you do?" (which elicits both hands and talk) and then proceeds to nominate individual children ("What did you do when you were home? What did you do, J--?"). The children appear to understand that only one person will speak at a time and only when called on, and that the only functional strategy, given the teacher's elicitation, is to raise one's hand. The children do not call out or talk during this segment. Soon, however, the teacher's elicitation form changes. The questions that occur in the talk only column must be viewed by the children as invitations to reply, as opposed to invitations to bid for a turn. This must be, by virtue of the fact that the only response to these questions is talk—no hands are raised. The questions in the hands and talk column, on the other hand, must be heard both as invitations to bid and as invitations to reply, by virtue of the fact that both hands and talk occur. Now all of this may not seem so remarkable until once notices that this clean distinction in the children's response to invitation to reply vs. invitation to bid and/or reply is clearly reflected in the language forms of the teacher's elicitations. In the cases of hands and talk, we see three instances of use of an indefinite pronoun ("Has anybody..."; "Has anyone..."; "Anybody has an idea?") and three instances of what seems to be an almost formulaic utterance: "What do you suppose..." Furthermore, the elicitations in the hands and talk column are for very general, non-specific information--anyone could have picked blackberries, any number of things could be inside a seed. (It should be noted that a raised hand could be taken as an answer to a question such as "Has anybody seen strawberries grow?") Such a question clearly functions both as an invitation to reply and as an invitation to bid. On the other hand, in the talk only column, it is largely the case that one single, specific answer is required. In several instances, the teacher seems to provide as much context as she can without providing the answer, even casting her elicitation in a quasi-declarative form ("Today's date is..."; "And today is what?"). In the one extended section about what is coming out of the plant, the teacher seems to

get progressively more specific in hopes of getting the answer she wants, i.e., the leaf. The questions here are not general questions that anybody can answer with a variety of answers. These are not invitations to bid; the floor is open to anyone who can reply. The goal is the assembly of specific lesson content, and this goal is reflected both in the teacher's language and in the children's turn-taking strategies. The children clearly respond to different kinds of teacher talk with different strategies.

The example in the hands and talk column provide the most interesting evidence for learning in process, as one question elicits very different responses. It should be noted that the teacher does not negatively sanction either kind of response. Additional support for the idea of the dual resopnse being evidence of learning will come from the 4th and 6th grade data. For now it is hypothesized that the function of the elicitation will have been more fully learned by the older children, so that the teacher's elicitation will not get so many dual responses.

The relationship between teacher elicitation and child response seen in Segment 1 is also found in the other three segments, such that the following general pattern can be described:

Kind of Information Solicited	Turn-taking Strategy
General	Hands up; talk
Specific; yes/no	Talk

Three exceptions occur during the discussion of The Good Neighbor, general elicitations that usually resulted in both hands and talk, but that were responded to here with talk alone. This may be due to the story-reading context.

While we do not have data for the turn-taking strategies that the children have learned and bring with them to school, it seems reasonable to suppose that these strategies differ somewhat from those appropriate for classroom use, and that some learning of new strategies will occur. This is based on the special nature and function of classroom discourse. We have looked at the distribution of turn-taking strategies within four separate kin-

dergarten whole-group events. We have discussed overt references to turn-taking, and have examined different responses to teacher elicitations. Based on these observations, we can conclude that there is evidence of teaching and learning of turn-taking strategies, and that such evidence comes both from overt reference to the turn-taking system and from its use. The preponderance of talk alone suggests interaction between classroom discourse and everyday discourse, in the favor of everyday discourse. Additional evidence for this comes from Segment 1. For every turn obtained in this segment, note was made of the strategy used by the child who got the turn and of the strategies used by those who were competing for the same turn but did not get it. That is, successful strategies were compared with unsuccessful ones, and a record was made of all the combinations that occurred, e.g., when talk alone got the turn and raised hands did not; when Miss P and a raised hand got the turn and talk alone did not. The result was that talk alone was by far the most successful strategy, followed by raised hands. The next two in order of success were being selected by the teacher to speak, and the teacher's name followed immediately by talk. The fact that talk alone was the most successful strategy may simply reflect an awareness in the children that the teacher's elicitation need not be followed by any other turn-taking tool, that it is sufficient in itself as the giving of a turn. On the other hand, talk alone as the most successful strategy may reflect the 'next speaker may self-select' convention in everyday conversation that the children being with them to school. The fact that both talk alone and talk either with hands raised or with the teacher's name may reflect some intermediate stage in the learning of turn-taking strategies specifically appropriate to school settings.

In conclusion, then, it would appear that turn-taking is not among the 'automatic types of behavior' tacitly learned. Rather, we seem to have evidence of what Florio might call 'children showing how they learn to go to school.' In her investigation of the acquisition of communicative competence in a kindergarten/1st grade classroom, Florio states that

> Managing to participate in classroom interaction is critically important for children. Since even children who have never been in

> classrooms before are fully and actively engaged on the first day of school, they must discover quickly, and with relatively little explicit help, the rules or norms which provide for meaningful behavior in the classroom....Children must begin to discover how to interpret the teacher's talk and actions in order to respond appropriately. (1978)

This chapter has provided evidence not only for the teaching and learning of turn-taking strategies, but also for children's knowledge and effective use of a wide range of language functions. An examination of language functions provides insight into children's awareness of social setting in language use and into the interactional dynamics of the classroom--who are the leaders, who are the followers, what are the rules and conventions, and so forth. These insights would be lost were the study to focus solely on language forms. From this examination we begin to get a picture not only of <u>what</u> language is being used, but of <u>how</u> children are using language to accomplish classroom tasks.

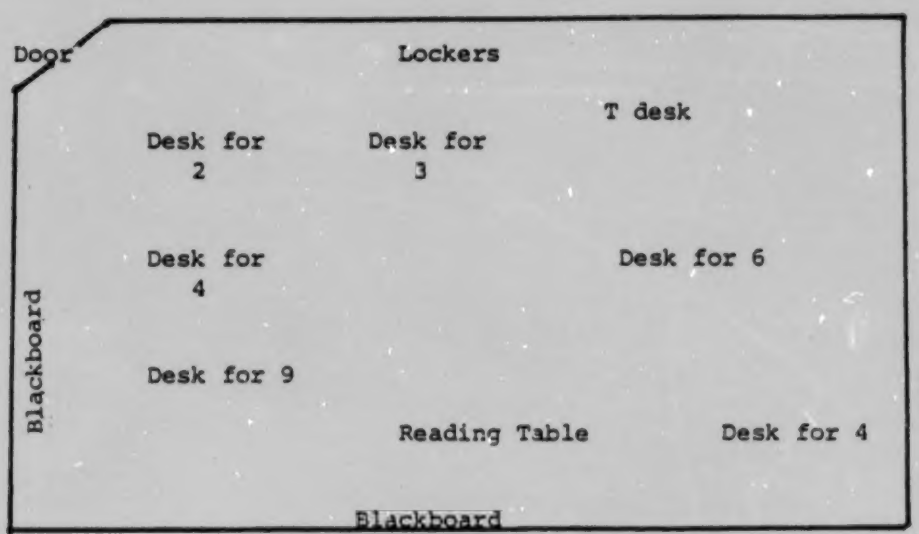
2. The Fourth Grade Class

Introduction

In this section, the research findings pertaining to the fourth grade class will be presented. The section has two parts. In the first part, general information about life in this classroom is provided. This information was gathered during four days of observation, and the write-up is based on the observation notes compiled by the researchers. The second part consists of an analysis of functional language use and dialect diversity in this classroom, based on a detailed look at videotaped segments of five different events within the class.

A. Observation Notes

There were 25 children in the fourth grade class, although several of the children divided their time between this fourth grade class and a third grade classroom. The physical plan of the classroom is as follows:



The fourth grade class was observed for a total of 23 hours over four days: 1, 2 and 3 April, 1981 (8:30-3:00), and 8 May, 1981 (8:30-12:00). To get a sense of the sequence of events, note was made of the different kinds of groups (small vs. large; activity of the group) that were formed in the classroom during the course of a given day. Presented schematically, the sequence of events is as follows:

1 April	2 April	3 April	8 May
whole group, school opening	whole group, school opening	whole group, school opening	whole group, school opening
whole group, vocabulary project	whole group	whole group, vocabulary project	share and tell
composition writing	small groups with and without teacher	exercise break	test
exercise break	exercise break	whole group	Mother's Day project
whole group, composition writing and correction	small groups with and without teacher		
lunch & recess	lunch & recess	lunch & recess	lunch & recess
small groups (library)	free conversation (basketball game)		
whole group	small groups without teacher, all working on same project		

As can be seen from this outline, most of the activities in this classroom took place in whole groups or originated as a whole group activity that was then continued in smaller groups. Events in the classroom were highly structured, and there was clearly a shared awareness of this structure. For example, the children were met every morning with the day's plan on the blackboard, such as the one below:

Our Plan

Good morning! R.P. will open school.

Today is a _____ day.

We will

- Have share and tell.
- Write in the Date 4/ /81.
- Review syllable of words.
- Review measuring, adding, subtracting, multiplying and dividing one, two, three, four digit numerals.
- Identify _____ words in Phonics/Spelling.
- Construct a Composition on _____.
- Locate and classify items in Study Skills.
- Paint flowers for Spring.

This plan was read out loud and discussed at the beginning of the day. Furthermore, the following general plan for the structure of the day was permanently displayed in a prominent place:

9:00-9:15	Opening
9:15-9:30	Six pupils go Mrs. G. for special program. T.R. goes to Mrs. H.
9:30-9:50	Group C work with Book C Tues. Thurs. Fri other days. The success is Reading & Writing
9:50-10:10	High Roads (reader)
10:10-10:30	(Tues) Science for Garden Club (or) Book E
10:30-10:45	Lavatory and exercises

10:45-11:15	Phonics/Spelling or Math
11:15-11:45	Composition
11:45-12:00	Preparation for Lunch
12:00-1:00	Lunch/Recess
1:00-1:30	Study Skills (Tuesday Music) or Math
1:30-2:00	Recreational Reading
2:00-2:35	Social Studies (or) Art (P.E.)
2:35-3:00	Preparation for dismissal
3:00	Dismiss

This general plan varied considerably both during the days of observation and the days of videotaping. Despite the variation, an important part of life in this classroom included the overt structuring of time and the attention called to that structuring.

The structuring of time was accompanied by a shared set of rules and conventions concerning appropriate classroom behavior. Overt reference is made to these rules and conventions and while they are not written anywhere, they have clearly been taught and learned during the course of the school year. Some examples of the rules and conventions are as follows:

* rules concerning talking and silence. The general rule during a whole group activity is silence, i.e. no private conversations. If things get out of hand, a flip of the light switch is used as a means of obtaining quiet. In one such instance, the teacher remarked "Some people are ignoring the light." Counting to 10 or to 100 is also used as a means of obtaining quiet. Silence is also required during the filing of papers--each student had a personal file in which in-class assignments and homework were stored upon completion. The rule was "file by alphabetical order, in silence." In one instance when the filing of papers became noisy, the teacher remarked, "I shouldn't have to say anythng for this one," and the result was silence.

* a convention concerning independent work within a whole group activity. This convention is marked by a gesture representing "putting one's thinking cap on" which the teacher initiates and the children imitate.

* a convention concerning the completion of work in class which is rewarded by a "happy face" stamp on the student's paper.

B. Functional Language and Dialect Diversity

The five specific segments selected to be analyzed for this presentation were videotaped activities within fourth grade that can be classified as follows:

1. Whole group lesson, teacher directed
   Topic: Health, personal hygiene/academic

2. Small reading group, teacher directed
   Topic: Biographies, Mark Twain/academic, 8 children

3. Small group, without teacher
   Topic: Social Studies/academic, 6 children

4. Small reading group, without teacher
   Topic: Discussion of basal story: Red Hen/academic, 6 children

5. Peer/Peer, without teacher
   Topic: Adjectives/academic/non-academic, 3 children

Segment #1: Academic Whole Group Lesson/Teacher Directed
Topic: Health, Personal Hygiene

This whole group lesson takes place quite early in the morning. The children had just finished reading compositions and after a short transition period their teacher (Mrs. W.) introduced the topic of personal hygiene. The interaction following the completion of assigned tasks is sampled below:

TCH: Okay. Would you help us out...Uh... (points to K) by looking up personal and hygiene. Okay? Uhm. When you get up in the mornings...remember last week we talked about...health, okay? Thus we said we were writing some things that we should use to help us take of our what?

S: [Body] [Body] okay? Now, uh, what...

TCH: ...were some of the things that you said you would do?

SS: Exercise.

TCH: You said you would exercise. Okay, what else?

S: Keep yourselves clean.

TCH: Keep yourselves clean. What else? [I can't hear / Brush your teeth] you, darling.

SH:

TCH: Speak up... [/ Get a proper amount of rest] Get a proper amount of rest,

ST: [Get a proper amount of rest]

TCH: brush your teeth. Anything else? [/ I] can't hear you.

R: [Get a good breakfast.]

TCH: (cups her ear)

R: Get a good breakfast.

TCH: Okay. Anything else? Yes? (points to I)

I: When you get up in the morning and wash your face.

TCH: Okay. Anything else? Those are all things that are centered around personal hygiene. This leads...okay...go ahead K-- and let us know what it is saying in the dictionary.

K: (reads) Of a person, individual; private: a personal letter, a personal matter...go on?

TCH: Yes.

Table 21 shows the frequency of participant initiations and responses across all language functions for this segment.

Table 21

Frequency of Response across Functions, Segment 4-1

	Initiation				Response			
Speaker	Event	Event Mgt.	Mgt. Pro.	C.C.	Event	Event Mgt.	Mgt. Pro.	C.C.
Teacher	72(+3)	48	11	2	23	15	2	3
I	2	0	0	0	8	1	0	0
Group	0	0	0	0	20	2		0
C	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0
V	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0
G	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
K	0	1	0	0	1	2	0	0
S	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
R	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

NOTE: + indicates number of functions occurring with dialect features.

Here it is revealed that the large concentration of student talk is found in the event response category, the major function observed being informing. This concentration is a direct match to the most abundant teacher category which falls under Event Initiations in the ask/request new and old information category. Most of the teacher and student talk, then, is topic/content related.

Table 21 shows 48 teacher initiations in the Event Management category, and we should point out that the majority of these instances comprised transition markers, invitations to bid, and individual nominations.

Table 22

Frequency of Utterances by Major Functions Category, Segment 4-1

		Initiation				Response			
Function	Spkr	Event	Event Mgt.	Mgt. Pro.	C.C.	Event	Event Mgt.	Mgt. Pro.	C.C.
I.	Tch	13	4	8		11	6	1	-
INFORM	I	1	-	-	-	8	-	-	-
	Group	-	-	-	-	20	1	-	-
	C	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-
	V	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-
	G	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-
	K	-	-	-	-	1	2	-	-
	S	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	R	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
II.	Tch	21	38	1	1	-	3	1	-
CONTROL	I	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Group	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	C	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	V	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	G	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	K	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	S	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	R	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
III.	Tch	36(+3)*	5	2	1	2	6	-	-
ASK/	I	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
REQUEST	Group	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
	C	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	V	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	G	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	K	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
	S	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
	R	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
IV.	Tch	-	-	-	-	10	-	-	3
GIVE	I	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Group	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	C	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	V	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	G	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	K	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	S	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	R	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

(Table 22 continued on next page)

Table 22 (continued)

Function	Spkr	Initiation				Response			
		Event	Event Mgt.	Mgt. Pro.	C.C.	Event	Event Mgt.	Mgt. Pro.	C.C.
V. MODIFY	Tch	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	I	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Group	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	C	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	V	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	G	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	K	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	S	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	R	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

NOTE: + indicates number of functions occurring with dialect features.

In this particular lesson, frequencies show that there are only a total of three student initiations. Those three initiations cover only two function categories, Informing and Requesting Information.

The pattern of children's talk in the response category covers three function areas, informing, controlling, and regulating information. The evidence clearly shows that children are most often responding to teacher questions.

Only teacher talk occurs in the Give category, primarily evaluation. Neither teacher or students make use of those functional categories related to modifying behavior/information in the whole-group situation.

Notice that the instances of functions accompanied by dialect features are almost nonexistent. The dialect features that do occur are based in teacher talk generated in Ask/Request speech functions.

Segment #2: Academic Small Reading Group Lesson/Teacher Directed
Topic: Mark Twain/Biographies

In this segment, a teacher-directed small-group activity, a similar pattern to that of the previous event emerges. Let us first, however, turn our attention to the contextual frame surrounding this event. The small reading group (six members) assembles after assignments had been recorded for the social studies lesson prior to the call for reading groups.

Mrs. W., the teacher, begins the lesson by reiterating the purpose of the lesson, asking questions about previous readings, and explaining the homework assignment for the lesson.

TCH: All right, how did the story inspire you, what did it make you want to do?

R: It made me wanna, uhm, when I grow up become like...uhn...be a story teller or something.

TCH: Oh, you probably want to be a story teller, that's good. Okay. (coughs) You wanna write a book. What do you wanna write your

S: [book about?] [...] About...my life.

TCH: Oh, you...you say you wanna write your autobiography. Okay. Were you inspired, M--?

M: (shakes her head) No.

TCH: You, V--? It didn't inspire you. Okay, but we're going on with the story and find out, maybe there will be some things in...two on un like uh...we got down to page 15 and we talked about something that was in a part of the...a home and, and I said I wanted you to go' home...home and mention it to your parents and find out if they had ever heard of one. What was that?

G: Bric-a-brac.

TCH: Okay, have your parents ever heard of a bric-a-brac? Okay.

S: It was a shelf that had some [ornaments.]

TCH: Okay, what did she say it was? [..]

R: [hard]

TCH: Right.

S: Like something with sea shells on it (pointing)

TCH: Was...

S: It was a shelf-thing in a [corner,] just like

TCH: [Right]

S: just like that something, like that [ ] with shelves.

TCH: [Right]

S: [...
TCH: [Yeah] Hmhm, right.
S: [...
TCH: [Hm hm, right.] Yeah. That's right. What I remember about it...the one that I remember was one that fits in a corner. But there are different kinds--the one at our house used to fit in a corner and you could put those you, you have one?
J: ...
TCH: Do [you?
J: [...shelves] lots of...through
S: ...
J: it is sort a like a...it's about that long you put it in the wall. Put the...[in
TCH: [right]
TCH: Oh.
R: [Miss W—, I got one but it's...]
K: [My grandpa has one...has little] holes in it...
(does not get the turn and talks on to S)

R: [... three parts. You just put some on
TCH: [Yours is a big]

R: the top [ ] and you got one in the middle and
TCH: [Uh-huh] you got one...

Table 23

Frequency of Initiations and Responses across All Language Functions, Segment 4-2

Speaker	Initiation				Response			
	Event	Event Mgt.	Mgt. Pro.	C.C.	Event	Event Mgt.	Mgt. Pro.	C.C.
Teacher	63	23	0	0	34	0	2	1(+1)
S	4	0	0	0	7	0	0	0
R	12	0	0	0	14	0	0	0
J	1	0	0	0	9(+1)	0	0	0
M	1	0	0	0	6	0	0	0
V	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0
Group	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
K	1	0	0	0	2	0	0	0

NOTE: + indicates number of functions occurring with dialect features.

The figures across functions support the fact that the segment is predominately a teacher-directed event with relatively little student initiation. There is, however, an increase in student initiations when compared to the whole-group lesson teacher-directed event. We purposefully selected the more interactional section of the transcript as a sample for comparison here. No such interaction occurred in the whole-group lesson.

Within language functions (Table 24), we again see three dominant categories in Use, Inform, Respond, Control, and Ask/Request.

Table 24

Frequency of Utterances by Major Function Category, Segment 4-2

		Initiation				Response			
Function	Spkr	Event	Event Mgt.	Mgt. Pro.	C.C.	Event	Event Mgt.	Mgt. Pro.	C.C.
I.	Tch	23	-	-	-	7	-	-	1
INFORM/	S	4	-	-	-	7	-	-	-
RESPOND	R	8	-	-	-	13	-	-	-
	J	1	-	-	-	9(+1)	-	-	-
	M	-	-	-	-	6	-	-	-
	V	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-
	K	1	-	-	-	2	-	-	-
	Group	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
II.	Tch	8	22	-	-	4	-	-	-
CONTROL	S	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	R	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	J	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	M	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	V	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	K	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Group	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
III.	Tch	32	-	-	-	6	-	-	1(+1)
ASK/	S	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
REQUEST	R	4	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
OLD &	M	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
NEW INFO	J	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	V	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	K	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Group	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
IV.	Tch	-	1	-	-	17	-	-	-
GIVE	S	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	R	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	M	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	S	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	J	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	V	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	K	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Group	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
V.	Tch	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
MODIFY	S	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	R	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	M	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	S	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	J	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	V	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	K	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Group	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

In both teacher-directed events, teacher talk dominates the lesson and dialect features rarely occur. Notice also that most of the talk is event bound, that is topic/content related rather than management bound, and for the most part student initiations are relatively depressed.

Segment #3: Academic Small Group/Without Teacher
Topic: Social Studies

Products of the "Great Plains" region of the U.S. was the subject of this videotaped social studies period. Learning to locate and interpret maps appeared to be a major component of the activity. Children were divided into approximately six groupings (their regular seating arrangements) and each individual table (grouping) was given a unique assignment by the teacher. The teacher then attended to a small reading group located at the front of the classroom. At no time after the assignment was given did teacher input occur. Children were generally cooperative, they delegated responsibilities, and in each group a leader emerged.

The sample transcript below, however, portrays a group leader's attempt to refocus and control breaches in group functioning.

G: (looks threatening at L) What we lookin' for, L.
L: We...whatever that thing [is.
S: [All this talkin' 'bout the United States.]
G: (puts piece of paper on the table) I'm a put it [the assignment] right here. Anybody can't read, too bad.
S: (complains) All they talkin' 'bout the United States.
.
.
.
G: Look in the Bread Basket of America, everybody. Everybody Bread. (to S) I said Bread Basket.

S: [of America
S: Which page,]
S: What what
G: I'm mo' pop you in your mouth. Just, just turn to the great...
S: I 'on't know. (pulls up shoulders)
C: Stop makin' him mad
L: I bet your better quit openin' your mouth (to S)
G: (to S, angrily) twenty-two! [I'm tellin' you...] (Exasperated)
CH: Man we ain't found nothin' [yet ... and] we the only dumbies she give us the hard stuff.
L: (starts to read from book) How to use the book. You don't need a...or a book. You have to do it like this (closes book and starts looking in the back.
C: We've been lookin' the [whole day long.
G: [corn found corn.] C—, get corn
[it's on] page thirty-five
C: [Where?] (looks for the page) thirty-five-thirty-five thirty-five-thirty-five
G: And don't nobody else get it.
C: I got it
G: I told C—
S: Thirty-five?
L: I got it [Corn] Who [take Barley]
G: [L—, you take Barley] [two hundred]
L: Who's a Bartley [
G: [Barley, page two hundred]
D—, I'm gon' fin' oats for you [ ] I'm helpin'
L: [And what's you gon do?]
G: Oh ah S— it [don't play like that (laughs)]
S: I'm helpin' [Everybody fin' oats]
L: Boy do you see somethin' whatever you say on this page?
G: Two hundred, that's what it say, barley.

Table 25

Frequency of Initiations and Responses across All Language Functions, Segment 4-3

	Initiation				Response			
Speaker	Event	Event Mgt.	Mgt. Pro.	C.C.	Event	Event Mgt.	Mgt. Pro.	C.C.
S	2	3(+1)	0	1	4(+1)	12(+2)	1	0
C	1	11(+3)	2	12	3(+1)	8(+2)	4(+1)	5
G	18(+1)	40(+5)	13	2	6(+4)	19(+4)	9(+3)	4(+2)
B	0	1	0		0		0	0
L	3(+3)	6(+3)	1	8(+3)	3(+1)	6(+2)	2	4(+1)
D	0	0	1		0		0	0

NOTE: + indicates number of functions occurring with dialect features.

The first thing we notice across functions, as revealed in Table 25, is the broadened use of event categories within initiations and responses. Whereas in teacher-directed events communication was event-bound (topic/content bound), children in this segment are utilizing language functionally across Event, Event Management, Management Procedure and Contextual Comment categories.

Also outstanding is the significant increase in use of dialect features. A total of five instances of dialect use occurred in teacher-directed events. In this segment alone, forty-two instances of various dialect features accompany the use of particular functions.

A look at these data within function (see Table 26) demonstrates an extension in the use of functional language categories, as compared to teacher-directed events. Whereas teacher-directed events were restricted to three major language functions, and their subcategories, children make use of all major categories in this non-teacher-directed event. To be more specific, out of the possible thirty-eight to forty coded language functions, within the five major categories, 14 were used in teacher-directed segment. Children made use of 28 functions in this non-directed social studies lesson. Use of functions such as confirming, correcting, complaining, offering, and warning emerge here and are not made use of in teacher-directed events.

Table 26

Frequency of Utterances by Major Function Category, Segment 4-3

		Initiation				Response			
Function	Spkr	Event	Event Mgt.	Mgt. Pro.	C.C.	Event	Event Mgt.	Mgt. Pro.	C.C.
I.	S	0	2(+1)	0	1	2	3(+1)	0	0
INFORM	C	0	7(+3)	1	8	2(+1)	3	1	0
&	G	6(+1)	16(+4)	3	2	3(+1)	7(+2)	2(+1)	1(+1)
RESPOND	B	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
	L	2(+2)	4(+2)	0	6(+1)	1(+1)	1	0	2
	D	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
II.	S	1	0	0	0	1(+1)	0	0	0
CONTROL	C	0	2	1	0	0	1	0	1
	G	5	21(+1)	11	0	0	3	4	1
	B	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	L	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0
	D	0	0	1	0	6	0	0	0
III.	S	0	1	0	0	0	9(+1)	1	0
ASK/	C	0	2	0	0	0	3(+1)	2(+1)	1
REQUEST	G	5	3	0	0	0	1	0	1(+1)
OLD/NEW	B	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
INFO	L	1(+1)	1(+1)	0	0	0	0	0	0
	D	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
IV.	S	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
GIVE	C	1	0	0	2	1	0	0	0
	G	2	0	0	0	0	6(+1)	1	1
	B	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	L	0	0	0	1(+1)	0	1(+1)	0	0
	D	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
V.	S	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
MODIFY	C	1	0		2	0	1(+1)	1	3
	G	0	0	0	0	3(+3)	2(+1)	1(+2)	3
	B	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	L	0	0	0	1(+1)	1	4	0	1(+1)
	D	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

NOTE: + indicates number of functions occurring with dialect features.

Segment #4: Academic Small Reading Group Without Teacher
Topic: Discussion of Red Hen

This taping took place around 10:30 a.m. when the children had just completed writing a composition entitled, "What Did Grace Do On a Rainy Day?" The compositions were read and then turned in to the teacher. During transition time, order was assigned for pencil sharpening and children were busily switching tables in preparation for organizing reading groups. Votes were taken electing R.G. (Reading Group) captain for the day. Instruction begins:

C: Alright, close your books. Close it.
I: (unintelligible)
C: (unintelligible) [Alright, / Sure] I'm a ass y'all some questions
I:
C: What's the hen's name? (hands are raised)
S: What is it?
C: D--
D: (hands are raised) Red Hen
C: Allright, I gotta go back to the book.
L: You gotta to look for spelling word.
I: No, he don't.
S: I spelled (unintelligible) He don't have to
S: [unless...tell him to.
C: [Where did he...live
L: [How you spell Red Hen, Red Hen
L: You can't do that!
D: In a old barn In a old red barn.
I: (to S--) You can't do that!
L: You can't do that lookin in that book. You can't be lookin in that book.
S: I can find some short e words. That is
L: How is we gon...you
B: Go on C--

C: Hey ya'll I don't know if these words are right ya'll got down on y'all paper.

(?) How many chicks did he have? (hands are raised)

D: Ten

B: He gotta [call your name

L: [(unintelligible protest)]

C: (unintelligible) chicks his chicks name I mean his name, B--.

B: Peepee

S: (to C) (unintelligible)

C: What did he eat (hands are raised) L-- (laughter) Yeah.

L: Uhm, Oats.

B: (waves her hand) Ooh-ooh-ooh (attempt to get turn)

L: Corn

I: B--.

B: Who me?

C: (unintelligible) What, what what what try to eat the chicks

S: Huh?

C: What try to eat his chicks? (hands raised) I--.

I: Hawk.

C: (What was (unintelligible) ordeal) What, what was sharp on it, B--.

D: What?

B: Claws. (laughter)

C: [Claws. The claws (unintelligible)]

D: [(unintelligible)]

C: Okydok. (papers are handed in)

B: Here Ch--, you gotta take down words

L: (getting up) I know. I'm gonna go get some paper so he can give us some words to study. (Camera shifts focus)

C: There you go.

Table 27

Frequency of Initiations and Responses across All Language Functions, Segment 4-4

	Initiation				Response			
Speaker	Event	Event Mgt.	Mgt. Pro.	C.C.	Event	Event Mgt.	Mgt. Pro.	C.C.
I	0	2	0	2	1	3(+1)		0
C	17(+4)	37(+4)	8(+1)	0	3(+1)	16(+3)	3(+1)	0
B	4(+3)	7(+2)	1(+1)	2	3	4(+1)	2	1
L	2(+2)	3(+2)	3	0	2	10(+6)	2(+1)	3(+1)
S	1	1	0	0	5	2(+1)	0	0
D	0	1(+1)	0	0	6	2(+1)	0	0

NOTE: + indicates number of functions occurring with dialect features.

We see in Table 27 that talk across functions in this segment reveals a higher incidence of student talk in general, a higher incidence of student initiations in particular and a considerable increase in the use of dialect features.

Small group lessons, without teacher, provide evidence to support the hypothesis that use of dialect features is indeed driven by the organization/composition of participant structures. In both of these events, dialect increases significantly when compared to teacher-directed events.

Another point to be made (see Table 28) is that there is a more balanced frequency of a variety of functions across Event, Event Management, Management Procedure and Context Comments in peer events. A partial explanation for this could be the difficulty children experience in maintaining purely topic/content related talk if a clear authority figure is not present to preside over the activity. Although Speaker C and Speaker G (Table 27 and 28) have assumed the teacher role, management techniques are used more often by all participants. This phenomenon is in contrast to the pattern found in teacher-directed events. It becomes necessary for children to call upon a variety of functional language strategies to accomplish social and academic tasks in concernt. Getting the job done becomes a group responsibility. In the last transcript presented we noticed many children monitoring, clarifying, correcting, threatening, offering, initiating, and organizing the language and activity of themselves and others. In teacher-directed activity, the student perception of where the responsibility for the orchestration of activity lies appears to be somewhat restricted.

In looking at dialect use across functions in Segments 3 and 4 (see Table 29), it is interesting to find that a greater degree of dialect usage across participants occurs in the management domain rather than in lesson or topic content. The higher percentage of dialect can be of course in part be attributed to more talk in general. Another plausible explanation we are drawn to is that while a wide range of both phonological and syntactic dialect features occur, children may feel that it is more acceptable to restrict their use when communication concerns academic issues. Our next peer triad segment lends credence to this argument.

Table 28

Frequency of Utterances by Major Function Category, Segment 4

		Initiation				Response			
Function	Spkr	Event	Event Mgt.	Mgt. Pro.	C.C.	Event	Event Mgt.	Mgt. Pro.	C.C.
I.	I	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
INFORM/	C	-	5(+1)	1(+1)	1	3(+1)	1	-	
RESPOND	B	-	1(+1)	-	1	2	1	1	-
	L	-	2	-	-	2	1(+1)	-	1
	S	-	-	-	-	1	1(+1)	-	-
	D	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-
II.	I	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	-
CONTROL	C	3	26	6	-	-	7(+2)	-	-
	B	1(+1)							
	L	1	-	3	-	-	6(+4)	-	1
	S	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
	D	-	-	-	-	1	1(+1)	-	-
III.	I	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-
ASK/	C	19(+4)	5(+3)	-	-	-	-	-	-
REQUEST	B	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1
NEW &	L	1(+1)	2(+2)	-	-	-	-	-	-
OLD INFO	S	-	1	-	-	4	1	-	-
	D	-	2(+1)	-	-	2	1	-	-
IV.	I	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
GIVE	C	1	1	-	-	1	6	1	-
	B	1	1	-	1	-	-	-	-
	L	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
	S	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	D	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
V.	I	-	1	-	1	-	1	2	-
MODIFY	C	4	-	1	-	1(+1)	-	1(+1)	-
	B	2	-	1(+1)	-	-	3(+1)	1	-
	L	-	-	-	-	-	2(+1)	2(+1)	1(+1)
	S	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	D	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

NOTE: + indicates number of functions occurring with dialect features.

Table 29

Dialect Features across Functions, Segments 3 and 4

Segment	Initiation				Response			
	Event	Event Mgt.	Mgt. Pro.	C.C.	Event	Event Mgt.	Mgt. Pro.	C.C.
3	(+4)	(+12)	-	(+3)	(+7)	(+10)	(+4)	(+3)
4	(+6)	(+9)	(+2)	-	(+1)	(+13)	(+2)	(+1)

Segment #5: Academic/Non-Academic Peer Triad

Topic: Adjectives

The initial assignment given during this segment required that each child select a book and discuss it with his/her group. The children were seated in their regular seating pattern. They were not in reading or math groups. Three children were targeted for this segment, two boys and one girl.

Students were either selected by the teacher to start the discussion, they volunteered, or negotiated with the group for a turn. A larger piece of the assignment was to search for compound words and adjectives within the book's passages. After recognizing and repeating the descriptive words, children were expected to write a list of appropriate words that had been identified.

Prior to the interaction in the transcript, P and G are discussing the assignment. P suddenly begins interpreting her book. E abruptly interrupts by saying, "Let me talk about mine (Blackula)." E begins discussing creatures. G interrupts and soon they are off on a side discussion about "real" vs. "fake" creatures. P interrupts in an attempt to lure the boys back on task by reminding them of their quest for a list of descriptive words. At this point the sample transcript picks up. The bulk of the remainder of the segment is spent discussing G's book in a way that is unrelated to the assignment at hand.

G: Awright...Look for the leather, leather back turtle. Wood turtle. Forest.

P: You know the Forest Turtle--is that right?

G: Yeah

I: Yeah

G: Look for the um Sof' Shell

I: Sof' Shell

P: (points to book) sof' shell sof' shell, sof' shell

G: Wrong. Up here! that it. I got one that's gon fool you

I: Show me

G: Here it is. Wait a minute [Wait] a minute (CAMERA SHIFTS FOCUS)

I: [Where]

G: Hmm hm. Look for the snapping turtle. Wrong. There it is,
snapping turtle [(laughs)] Yeah.

I: [ow man, that's how it look]

P: They cute ain't they

G: Now you know what the snapping turtle looks like. HIs head is go like a foot. You see when they got a head goin' up like a foot (CAMERA BACK AT EVENT) Giant tortoise (to Pam)

P: (points to book) and the soft turtle

I: Those things But how you get um back

G: (P-- points to book) Nope. Righ' here. Giant Tortoise. Uh Rain Turtle Rain Turtle

P: What? (points correctly)

G: Huh. One last time. You go first (to Irvin) I give you

G: This snake also has a triangular head. Yep. Let me turn.

P: Look for it? (points to book)

P: Don't do that.

G: As a real one. What's that? (to P-- who's trying to get his attention)

P: Ain't supposed to be talkin' we...he 'posed to be describin'

.

.

.

G: Oh wait a minute. Irvin's turn. Uhm, which one's the reptile.
[reptile...]

I: [There's the] reptile, right there, reptile right there

P: That one's so easy. You see the way his neck shaped

G: You mean the lines

I: (unintelligible)

P: Yeah.

G: You see it's back here with the lines. The linin'. It tells you by the linin' [See, there it is] When you find that linin'

P: [You know what I think]

G: Like that, that's a reptile (pronounced "raptile")

.

.

.

(G sees Ms. W coming and starts looking for something in his desk. P and I turn around to look at Ms. W)

P: S-- can I have some paper please? (leans back) J--, that describes something don't it?

G: Yeah.

I: (whispers to G)

P: Is that (unintelligible) the bottom of the page

I: (to P, points to book) the bottom of the page

P: Describin' (unintelligible)
Ugh, look at his head

I: You wanna see Young Frankenstein?

G: Yeah.

I: There he is, Young Frankenstein.

G: Ain't nothin'

P: (W asks for lists, she ignores P's response) I left my book home, Ms. W.

The point that was made earlier regaring the high incidence of dialect use in non-teacher-directed events occurring with management utterances as opposed to content utterances may appear to be in contradiction with the data provided in Segment 5, the peer/peer event (see Table 30). Notice, first, that management and topically unrelated talk drops off drastically. Initiations and responses are clearly dominated by topic/content rather than by management. Also more detailed data (not shown here) provide evidence that 28 of the 38-40 functions coded across function categories were used by these children. The high incidence of function (+) plus dialect features in the Event category, we think, can be explained by the curious nature of this segment. At first glance of the transcript one would conclude that these interactions would be placed in an academic category. What is interesting is

that these children were assigned a language arts task which involved making lists of adjectives found while reading passages in books of their choice. It is apparent from the transcript provided that these children are off task. It is a plausible explanation, then, that the perceptions of the participants may be that they are involved in a non-academic task. As seen in other group transcripts without the teacher present, children appear to have a tendency to put great emphasis on staying on task. The academic nature of the assignment seems to pressure children to keep each other "in line" and doing the "right" things. However, when the academic nature of the tasks falls out, for some reason or another, staying within both arbitrary and assumed lesson bounds is no longer perceived as relevant. Segment 5 seems to be a case where children are staying on topic because of their own interest in the topic and the context they have created for interaction. There are no lesson "bounds" dictating what is acceptable to discuss and what is not. Shaping each other's behavior according to an imposed task is not functional in a context such as the one these children have developed.

Table 30

Frequency of Initiations and Responses across All Language Functions, Segment 4-5

	Initiation				Response			
Speaker	Event	Event Mgt.	Mgt. Pro.	C.C.	Event	Event Mgt.	Mgt. Pro.	C.C.
P	20(+5)	3(+1)	4(+2)	4	40(+9)	1	0	0
G	69(+13)	16	0	0	50(+20)	1	0	0
I	7(+1)	0	0	0	27(+4)	1	0	0

NOTE: + indicates number of functions occurring with dialect features.

Table 31 reveals for Segment 5 the highest use of dialect features across functions when compared to all other segments. One could argue that the greater use of dialect could be a factor related particular individuals and their level of dialect use. In other words these children could fall into the "heavy" dialect user category and consistently speak dialect more often than other children. We attempted to build in overlap of children across events to deal with this issue. It proved to be a difficult task given the many changing group configurations in the 4th grade classroom. However, two of the three children in Segment 5 can be located in other segments. Their use of language functions and dialect features varies across all segments. We will give this topic further consideration in greater detail in our overall summary.

Table 31

Frequency of Utterances by Major Function Category, Segment 4-5

		Initiation				Response			
Function	Spkr	Event	Event Mgt.	Mgt. Pro.	C.C.	Event	Event Mgt.	Mgt. Pro.	C.C.
I.	P	8		7	1	2	1		1
INFORM	G	6					2		
	I								
II.	P	22	3	47	2	13	1	1	
CONTROL	G	2		1					
	I								
III.	P	7		2	3(1+)	1			
ASK/	G	11(1+)							
REQUEST	I	3							
IV.	P	1		1			1		
GIVE	G	3(1+)							
	I								
V.	P	1		1			1		
MODIFY	G	3(1+)							
	I								

NOTE: + indicates number of functions occurring with dialect features.

When we turn our attention to an examination of the actual functions + dialect found across all events (see Table 32), a more comprehensive picture emerges. Two questions should be asked in light of these data: a) Are there clear patterns revealing how functions may be controlled by events; b) Do dialect features systematically accompany specific functions more often than others. Segments 1 (whole group) and 2 (small group with teacher) will not be helpful in answering the second question above due to the absence of dialect features. But what is revealing about these segments is that predominantly three major functions are utilized in communication: informing, controlling, and asking. In Segment 1, there are a mere two instances of student initiations. The smaller group, Segment 2, allows for more student initiations--18 instances.

Non-teacher-directed segments show a more balanced use of language across the five functional categories in contrast to the three used in teacher-directed events. A close examination of those segments which are not teacher-directed (3, 4, and 5) show the expected increase in participant elicitation and response. What is striking is that all three segments indicated a high occurrence of initiations in the informing, controlling, and requesting categories, yet dialect features appear with low frequency with language which, in particular, controls information or behavior, a finding that requires more attention in further analysis. As mentioned earlier, speech across initiation functions in non-teacher events shifts from event categories to management categories. An exception is the peer/peer segment (5) where speech is predominantly content- and topic-related. In contrast, responding moves appear to accommodate use of dialect features across speech functions. That is, it can be shown that for both segments involving small groups without teacher, greater use of dialect features is restricted to responding moves. This is also the case for the peer/peer segment.

In summary, we will review the major points that have been reported. Table 32 broadly summarizes information by segment. We have found that in teacher-directed events (Segments 1 and 2), teacher talk dominates the lesson; this teacher talk is predominantly event (topic related) rather than

management bound. Teacher-directed events also demonstrate an unbalanced use of language functions across participants. The rare occurrences of student talk are found in the response category and directly reflect the functional category indicated by the teacher. Teacher and student utterances are almost never accompanied by dialect. Dialect is virtually absent in teacher-directed events.

In non-teacher-directed events (Segments 3 and 4), the frequency of language use across functions is more balanced, encompassing more functions. Since the children themselves are managing the event, it appears that topic-related talk (Event category) is more difficult to maintain. Utterances vs. non-teacher-directed events predominate in the Event Management rather than Event categories. Along with the shift in talk, dialect increases overall and in the Event Management category in particular.

Table 32

Frequency of Initiations and Responses across All Language Functions, by Tape Segment

Tape Segment	Spkr	Initiation				Response			
		Event	Event Mgt.	Mgt. Pro.	C.C.	Event	Event Mgt.	Mgt. Pro.	C.C.
1	Tch	72(+3)	48	11	2	22	15	2	3
Whole	G	0	0	0	0	20	2	2	0
group:	I	2	0	0	0	8	1	0	0
Academic	K	0	1	0	0	1	2	0	0
	V	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0
	C	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0
	S	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
	G	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0
2	Tch	63	23	0	0	34	0	2	1(+1)
Small	J	1	0	0	0	9(+1)	0	0	0
group	R	12	0	0	0	14	0	0	0
with	M	1	0	0	0	6	0	0	0
teacher:	S	4	0	0	0	7	0	0	0
Reading	K	1	0	0	0	2	0	0	0
academic	V	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	G	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
5	P	20(+5)	3(+1)	4(+2)	4	40(+9)	1	0	0
Peer/Peer	G	69(+13)	16	0	0	50(+20)	1	0	0
with	I	7(+1)	0	0	0	27(+4)	1	0	0
teacher: Non-academic									
4	I	0	2	0	2	1	3(+1)	4	0
Small	C	17(+4)	37(+4)	8(+1)	0	3(+1)	16(+3)	3(+1)	0
group	B	4(+1)	7(+2)	1(+1)	2	3	4(+1)	2	1
without	L	2(+1)	3(+2)	3	0	2	10(+6)	2(+1)	3(+1)
teacher:	S	1	1	0	0	5	2(+1)	0	0
Reading	D	0	1(+1)	0	0	6	2(+1)	0	0
3	S	2	3(+1)	0	1	4(+1)	12(+2)	1	0
Small	C	1	11(+3)	2	12	3(+1)	8(+2)	4(+1)	5
group	G	18(+1)	40(+5)	13	2	6(+4)	19(+4)	9(+3)	4(+2)
with	B	0	1	0		0		0	0
teacher:	L	3(+3)	6(+3)	1	8(+3)	3(+1)	6(+2)	2	4(+1)
Reading academic	D	0	0	1		0		0	0

NOTE: + indicates number of functions occurring with dialect features.

Table 33 includes a breakdown of dialect use across function by segment. The percentage of dialect use dramatically increases. Table 34 shows the breakdown of talk by event focus and dialect percentages by event focus are provided. A greater percentage of dialect occurs in the functional categories responding vs. initiating events.

Findings in peer/peer events demonstrate a dramatic drop in event management and management procedure (topically unrelated talk). We find a higher incidence of dialect use both in initiating and responding events. The high use of dialect in the event category is not unrelated to the greater number of utterances in this category.

When viewing non-teacher-directed events altogether (Segments 3, 4, and 5), most of the students' speech functions fall in the informing, controlling, requesting and modifying focus categories.

Overall we can say the following about functional language use and its relationship to dialect use in this fourth grade classroom:

a) Language functions <u>do</u> vary according to conversational context.

b) Most of the interactive talk occurs in the initiating category rather than responding. This picture shifts when teacher vs. student talk is the focus or when participation structures (small group, whole group, teacher-directed, non-teacher-directed) is the variable in question.

c) A higher incidence of dialect use occurs in non-teacher-directed events. This greater percentage of dialect features in small group events without teacher presence emerges in the <u>Event Management</u> category. The peer/peer event is an exception in that dialect features predominate in the <u>Event</u> category (topic related talk).

d) A low incidence of dialect use occurs in the function category of Control.

Table 33

Dialect Features across Language Functions

Segment Number	Initiation				Response			
	Event	Event Mgt.	Mgt. Pro.	C.C.	Event	Event Mgt.	Mgt. Pro.	C.C.
TEACHER-DIRECTED EVENTS: WHOLE GROUP/SMALL GROUP (ACADEMIC)								
1	-	(+3)	-	-	-	-	-	-
2	-	-	-	-	(+1)	-	-	(+1)
Totals		3			1			1
TOTAL = 5								
NON-TEACHER-DIRECTED EVENTS: SMALL GROUP (ACADEMIC)								
3		Initiations = 19				Responses = 24		
	(+4)	(+12)	-	(+3)	(+7)	(+10)	(+4)	(+3)
3		Initiations = 17				Responses = 17		
	(+6)	(+9)	(+2)	-	(+1)	(+13)	(+2)	(+1)
Totals	(+10)	(+21)	(+2)	(+3)	(+8)	(+23)	(+6)	(+4)
TOTAL = 77								
NON-TEACHER-DIRECTED EVENTS: PEER/PEER GROUP (NON-ACADEMIC)								
5		Initiations = 22				Responses = 33		
	(+19)	(+1)	(+2)	-	(+33)	-	-	-
TOTAL = 55								

Table 34

Total Talk by Focus across Segments

Segment Number	Initiation				Response			
	Event	Event Mgt.	Mgt. Pro.	C.C.	Event	Event Mgt.	Mgt. Pro.	C.C.
	Initiations = 219				Responses = 131			
1	72	48	11	2	52	-	2	1
2	63	23	-	-	76	-	-	-
Total	135	71	11	2	128	-	2	1
% dialect		.04			.008			.1
	Initiations = 163				Responses = 132			
4	23	51	12	4	20	37	11	4
3	24	61	17	23	16	45	16	13
Total	48	111	29	27	36	82	27	17
% dialect	.21	.19	.07	.11	.22	.28	.22	.24
	Initiations = 206				Responses = 120			
5	96	38	4	4	117	3	-	-
% dialect	.20	.3	.50		.28			

Table 35

Segment Utterance Totals by Major Function, Fourth Grade

INITIATION

Event	INFORM FUNCTION		CONTROL FUNCTION		ASK/REQUEST FUNCTION		GIVE FUNCTION		MODIFY FUNCTION	
	Utter-ances	Percent Dialect	Utter-ances	Percent Dialect	Utter-ances	Percent Dialect	Utter-ances	Percent Dialect	Utter-ances	Percent Dialect
TEACHER-DIRECTED:										
Seg. 1	26		61		46		0		0	
Seg. 2	37		30		37		1		0	
Total	63	0%	91	0%	83	6%	1	0%	0	0%
NON-TEACHER-DIRECTED:										
Small Group:										
Seg. 3	59		44		13		6		4	
Seg. 4	9		46		21		5		10	
Total	68	25%	90	3%	34	41%	11	9%	14	14%
Peer/Peer:										
Seg. 5	57	35%	36	5%	25	0%	5	0%	3	33%
Total	125	30%	123	4%	59	24%	16	13%	17	18%

Table 35 (continued)

RESPONSE

Event	INFORM FUNCTION		CONTROL FUNCTION		ASK/REQUEST FUNCTION		GIVE FUNCTION		MODIFY FUNCTION	
	Utter-ances	Percent Dialect	Utter-ances	Percent Dialect	Utter-ances	Percent Dialect	Utter-ances	Percent Dialect	Utter-ances	Percent Dialect
TEACHER-DIRECTED:										
Seg. 1	58		4		11		13		0	
Seg. 2	49		4		7		17		0	
Total	107	.9%	8	0%	18	0%	30	0%	0	0%
NON-TEACHER-DIRECTED:										
Small Group:										
Seg. 3	28		11		21		10		21	
Seg. 4	19		16		9		9		14	
Total	47	23%	27	30%	30	17%	19	11%	35	40%
Peer/Peer:										
Seg. 5	44	36%	2	50%	16	38%	38	13%	19	32%
Total	91	30%	29	31%	46	24%	57	12%	54	37%

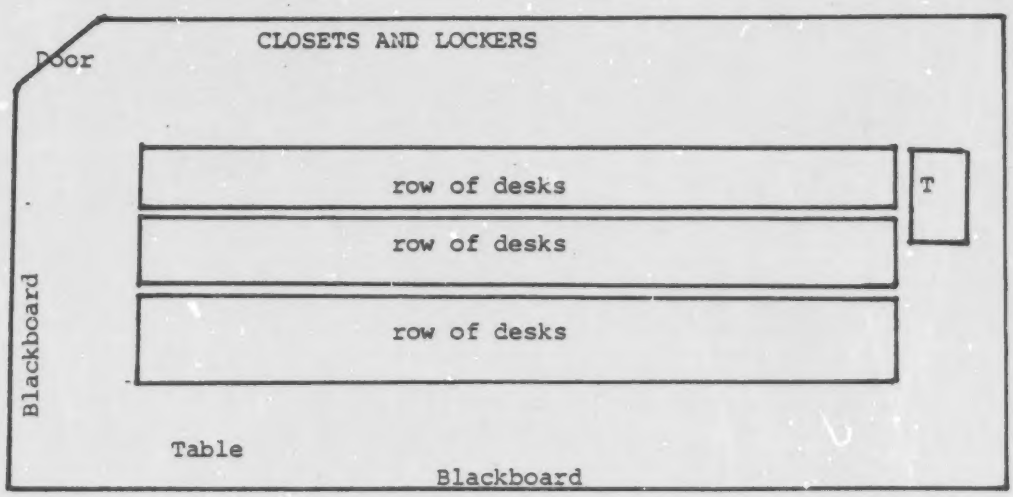
3. The Sixth Grade Class

Introduction

This section of the final report comprised an analysis of the sixth grade classroom selected for this linguistic study. The analysis covers three major areas: (1) the classroom life and the rituals therein as reconstructed from observational notes collected over a four-day period before the actual language data collection began, (2) an analysis of functional language use and dialect diversity based on videotaped segments of four different situational/contextual events within the class, (3) the final component of the analysis includes a detailed look at teacher language in relation to correcting strategies used to modify dialect use by the students in the sixth grade classroom.

A. Observation Notes

Thirty-two students were a part of the sixth grade class observed in this study. The physical layout of the classroom is diagrammed below.



The sixth grade classroom was observed for 20 hours over a four-day period, 7 April (8:30-3:00), 8 April (8:30-3:00), 9 April (8:30-12:00), and 20 May (8:30-12:00). A major focus for these preliminary observations was on class groupings and routines formed and executed during regular classroom events. A fundamental sequence of events in sixth grade during the initial observational phase follows schematically.

7 April	8 April	9 April	20 May
large group (opening)	large group (opening)	large group (opening)	large group (opening)
small group			
large group			
recess/lunch	recess/lunch	recess/lunch	recess/lunch
small group	large group		
large group	small group		

Upon entering the classroom, students generally meandered around in small groups clustering around the pencil sharpener. Many students found seats and immediately began seat activities.

The first major routine that should be noted was the class coverage of the days schedule which was consistently on the blackboard before the children entered the classroom in the mornings. The teacher, in chorus with students, recited the day's schedule of events, making corrections where needed.

What was referred to as the school opening followed the recognition of the day's schedule of events. An "officer of the day" was pre-selected, through a recognized rule system, to lead in the school opening. The officer of the day (a different student is chosen daily) has several responsibilities: (1) organize the school opening, (2) secure name cards, (3) control selection of activities and nomination of peers, and (4) close the event. Sometimes the selection is made on the spot by the teacher:

T: Whose turn is it to open school, David? (a true nomination rather than a request for information)

The opening could be described as a well-defined ritual replete with participants' shared knowledge of rules and limitations operating within the ritual. The officer of the day instructed participants to

O: Please stand. Place your hand over your heart. Begin.

These statements signalled the recitation of the Pledge of Allegiance to the Flag. After the Pledge of Allegiance, the officer of the day requests suggestions for the singing, either a patriotic song, a spiritual song, a fun song, or a poetry recitation. Several songs of each type, as well as poetry selections, are collectively sung and recited by the group. Only the classroom teacher ever overruled a suggestion and offered a replacement.

The other classroom routines and rituals include those that seem to be regulatory or for the purpose of control and maintaining order and those related to customary organizing of classroom activities. A description of both categories of rituals follows:

1. Routines/Rituals to Control/Maintain Order

Forming Lines: A well-defined procedure for lining up. Lines are formed for all trips out of the room--to the bathroom, recess, lunch, etc. Ladies or men's week is designated and referred to all week. Before each line-up, statements like

T: Okay, Boys and Girls lines.
T: Whose week is it--Girls or Boys?

are made by the teacher.

Posting Initials: Anyone leaving the room (during a classroom event) for any reason which does not require the direct permission of the teacher (bathroom break, drink of water, nurse's office) must post their initials on the blackboard. It is expected that the initials be erased upon return.

Verbal Strategies: These represent phrases or statements consistently used by this sixth grade classroom teacher to maintain control. Students were clearly aware of the appropriate verbal and behavioral to be made.

T: Step out into the hall.
T: Excuse me.
T: Are we talking?
T: We are supposed to do what?
T: He has his hand up, what is the rule?

Move It Back: The convention of moving one's desk to the back or to the side of the room when one too many reprimands have been issued. Virtually a look and a gesture (backward wave of the hand) elicits the appropriate response from students.

2. Routines/Rituals Related to Customary Classroom Activities

Playground/Recess: It is customary for the girls and boys to split up for separate activities.

Conversation Breaks: Usually allowed for right before transition periods between lessons or activities. Usually students were allowed 3-5 minutes to chat about whatever they wanted. Many times the teacher would participate in small group discussions related to community issues (i.e., gangs, stealing, upcoming events, families).

Language Correction: Correction of dialect by the classroom teacher would occur during large-group, small-group, and individual activities across classroom events. Student repetition of the corrected form or part of speech was always expected.

S: ...the way you done it.
T: Did it! (with mock menacing look)
S: Did it. (in lowered voice)

S: I ain't get to do mine!

T: Didn't.

S: I didn't get to do mine.

T: Somebody is still putting the "s" on "means."
Some of the words are unclear.
Say those words!

S: Here's me and P—'s. You ain't give us the homework sheet.

T: I didn't. (with pained look)

S: You didn't. (with look of recognition)

The major purposes of these routines and rituals seem to be to (a) smooth transition periods, (b) maintain order, and (c) reinforce academic conventions.

B. Functional Language and Dialect Diversity

Five segments were selected for analysis. All segments were videotaped activities within the sixth grade and can be described as follows:

1. Whole group lesson, teacher-directed.
   Topic: Parts of Speech
2. Small group with teacher, academic.
   Topic: Responsibility
3. Small group with teacher, nonacademic.
   Topic: Sleeping Habits
4. Peer/peer (three children) without teacher, nonacademic.
   Topic: Stagefright
5. Small reading group, teacher-directed academic.
   Topic: Food Chains

Segment #1: Academic Whole Group Lesson/Teacher Directed
Topic: Health, Personal Hygiene

This whole group segment was videotaped in the late morning just before lunch and recess. After a short transition period Ms. B, the sixth grade teacher, introduced the English lesson for the day. She opens the lesson by making reference to a previous lesson where they had begun to cover some of the material scheduled for the day's lesson.

TCH: Now. What are the words that you talk about a noun. The two parts of speech we talked about in class before...to talk about a noun. What is the word that describes a noun?

G: Pronoun...pronoun.

TCH: That's the word that takes the place of a noun.

S: Adjective.

TCH: Adjective. What is a word that describes a noun? [Adjective.

G: [Adjective.

TCH: Who can give me an adjective for the word boy? Something that describes the word...

S1: Thin.

S2: Strong.

TCH: Strong boy, good.

D: (waving her hand) The boy ran.

TCH: The boy ran....skinny boy....quiet boy.

K: Shy.

D: Tall.

TCH: Tall boy.

S: Skinny.

TCH: Skinny boy.

S: Fat.

TCH: Quiet boy.

S: (unintelligible) boy.

TCH: Okay, any word that describes. Now some people, why it's just got confused between a ronoun and an adjective. What is the word that takes the place of a noun?

S: A pronoun.

TCH: Pronoun. Who can give me an example of some pronouns?

S: He ran.

TCH: He. Pronoun for you.

S: It. (some laugh)

TCH: A pronoun for you.

S1 Him.

S2: Him.

TCH: No. I'm asking...L--?

L: Yourself.

S: I know ____.

TCH: Put your hand down, L--. What is a pronoun for yourself?

S: His-him.

TCH: You wouldn't say...call yourself him. What would you call yourself?

G: Me-me.

TCH: So that's a pronoun. Another pronoun for yourself would be what?

G: I.

TCH: I. What is the pronoun for a book?

S: I.

SOME: It.

TCH: It. What is the pronoun for all of us?

S1: We.

S2: They.

S3: Us.

TCH: Any word that takes the place of a noun is a what? [Pronoun.

SS: Pronoun.]

TCH: What is an adjective?

SOME: A word that (unintelligible)

S: [A word that describes a noun.

TCH: A word that describes a noun.] So now we have, we usually, we have

articles that come before...to indicate a noun is coming up. 'Member we said an, an article was a noun-indicator. Who could name the articles for me?

S: The.

TCH: Put your hand up please.

Table 36

Frequency of Initiations and Responses Across Functions, Segment 6-1

	Initiation				Response			
Speaker	Event	Event Mgt.	Mgt. Pro.	C.C.	Event	Event Mgt.	Mgt. Pro.	C.C.
Teacher	75	1			18	4		
Group					42			
S	1				6			
D					4			
K	1				1			
L	2				2			
L					1			
L					2(+1)			
J	1				3			

NOTE: + indicates number of functions occurring with dialect features.

It is clear from the data presented in Table 36 that in the whole group setting in sixth grade talk is even more restricted in terms of situation and function than the fourth grade whole group. Teacher talk is predominantly in one category--that of the event. The teacher talk is very event-specific (topic/content related); virtually no management or procedural talk is present. It has been observed that the more structured the lesson in this class, the more specific the questioning the less managing talk is required. This teacher has expressed concerns in the area of student control and has employed

specific strategies to tighten control especially during large group lessons. Likewise, student talk is restricted to topic/content related responses. Student initiations are virtually nonexistent.

Table 37 gives a further breakdown by functional categories. Teacher talk occurs primarily in the Inform and Ask/request category. As one would expect--student talk is restricted to Inform/respond category. No student talk occurs in the Control, Ask/request or Modify categories, which suggests almost no initiation to new topics or issues to the discussion. Again, student talk also does not vary situationally or functionally. The same is true of the fourth grade data however the control category (directives, invitation to bid, nominations, etc.) was utilized as was a large concentration of teacher talk in the Event Management category. This difference across grade may be due only to the selection of segments. It is our opinion based upon extensive observation that generally speaking, much more control and management talk would most likely occur more prevalently in most situations than is evidenced here.

A complete parallel with the fourth grade data is revealed where attention is turned to dialect usage. It is virtually nonexistent. Only one instance of dialect use occurs from a student. No use of dialect was evidenced in the fourth grade data. Issues of dialect in the sixth grade will not be treated comprehensively in the segment analyses. The section on correction is intended to more adequately cover the dialect trends in this classroom. A careful look at the sample transcript for Segment 1 reveals that student responses are primarily phrases or one-word answers rather than complete sentences. The students respond only to the question at hand and do not elaborate or extend the interaction either by introducing new information or extending old information. Teacher questioning techniques, here, demand performative responses. The questioning strategies demand one-word answers. Most teacher questions occur in the request new information-choice/product categories. Few process or metaprocess questions are raised. These questions would require more than yes/no or single correct product resopnses.

Table 37

Frequency of Utterances by Major Functions Category, Segment 6-1

		Initiation				Response			
Function	Spkr	Event	Event Mgt.	Mgt. Pro.	C.C.	Event	Event Mgt.	Mgt. Pro.	C.C.
I.	Tch	45				9	2		
INFORM &	Group					7	35		
RESPOND	S	1					4		
	D					1	3		
	K	1					1		
	L					1	2		
	L					1	1		
	L								
	J					1	2		
II.	Tch	14				1	1		
CONTROL									
III.	Tch	45							
ASK/	J	1							
REQUEST									
IV.	Tch	1				2			
GIVE	S					2			
V.	Tch	1				4	3		
MODIFY									

NOTE: + indicates number of functions occurring with dialect features.

Segment #2: Academic Small Groups with Teacher

Topic: Community Responsibility

This segment takes place around 2:00 in the afternoon. The situation occurs after a "milling around" transition period. Small groups of children are talking, some are reading, others are writing at the blackboard. The teacher is out of the room for part of the time. After her return she spends a fair amount of time getting the group under control. Many management directives are shouted to the group, after which time a general conversation begins about stealing. It begins to take on lesson characteristics or attributes when the sixth grade teacher begins to structure the conversation.

A sample transcript follows:

TCH: But a lot of big kids get away with that. They put a little kid up to stealin'. The little kid goes through the store and steals. And then the big kid outside helps eat...the little kid eat the candy. Is that equally to blame?

S: No.

SS: Yeah.

TCH: Yeah.

S: Yeah.

TCH: And the big kid's even more to blame. How many people influence their brothers and sisters that way?

SS: (laughter)

S: (laughing and waving hand to say "no") Un-un, I wouldn't do it. Un-un, un-un.

TCH: Would you think of doing that, Je--?

JE: Huh?

TCH: Would you think of doing that all?

JE: No. I wouldn't do that.

S: Yeah.

JO: (unintelligible) (pointing to JE)

TCH: Jo--, would you think of that?

JE: Jo-- walked out of Kreske's with his hands in his pocket.

JO: No, but the boy down at the drugstore, Jo-- walked out

SS: (laughing)

TCH: Hey, Jo—, whatcha do?

JO: (inaudible)

TCH: (inaudible) Did you ever do that, Jo--?

S: Yeah.

S: [He stole some candy.

S: He stole two candy bars.

JO: (inaudible) time.]

TCH: Wait a minute. Listen to Jo--. Jo—, what do you do sometimes?

JE: He stole.

SS: (unintelligible)

TCH: Wait a minute.

JE: Two.

TCH: I'm listenin' to Jo--. Jo—, whata you doin' sometimes?

JO: (inaudible)

TCH: Jo—? Jo—?

JO: Huh?

TCH: Whata you do sometimes?

S: Somethin' silly.

TCH: (shouting) I'm listening to Jo—!

S: Stole some shoes.

JO: (shrugs shoulders) I don't know.

TCH: You said I do sometimes.

JE: Cory did it, too.

JO: Billy do too.

S: You do too.

TCH: You know what does the word too mean? Aren't you admitting you do it yourself when you use the word too?

Table 38

Frequency of Initiations and Responses Across Functions, Segment 6-2

	Initiation				Response			
Speaker	Event	Event Mgt.	Mgt. Pro.	C.C.	Event	Event Mgt.	Mgt. Pro.	C.C.
Teacher	42	7	4		1			
Group	2				5	3		
L	1				7			
J	6				11			
J	2				8			

NOTE: + indicates number of functions occurring with dialect features.

Most notable in Table 38 is the fact that in this small group setting with teacher present, teacher talk dominates the topic at hand. This "lesson" is quite different from the formal, structured academic whole group lesson in that it became labelled academic because of the nature of the interaction rather than the structure. It became more than a discussion--a clear purpose and message was to be learned. As the discussion progressed, teacher questioning strategies and student responses began to look more "lesson like."

As was the case in the whole group lesson, teacher and student talk is content/topic related. Student talk continues to dominate the response category, yet more student initiation does occur--one student is primarily responsible for the rise in student initiations.

In the small group setting we see more management talk used by the teacher. A look at Table 39 shows us that most of the management talk falls in the functional category of control. Teacher talk again predominates in the Informing and Requesting Information functional categories. However, the variety of teacher talk increases, five functions in the Inform category are used, five functions in the Control category are used, as well as six functions in the Requesting category. Student talk is also more varied, albeit in smaller quantities, spanning four of the five functional categories. In the whole group lesson, student talk was restricted to only two functional categories.

Table 39

Frequency of Utterances by Major Functions Category, Segment 6-2

		Initiation				Response			
Function	Spkr	Event	Event Mgt.	Mgt. Pro.	C.C.	Event	Event Mgt.	Mgt. Pro.	C.C.
I.	Tch	20				9	2		
INFORM &	Group	1				2	3		
RESPOND	L	1				6(+1)			
	J	4				5			
	J	1				4(+2)			
II.	Tch	8	7	4					
CONTROL									
III.	Tch	14							
ASK/	J	2				6(+1)			
REQUEST	J	1							
IV.	J					2			
GIVE	L					1			
V.	Tch	1							
MODIFY	J					2(+1)			

NOTE: + indicates number of functions occurring with dialect features.

Segment #3: Nonacademic Small Group with Teacher

Topic: Sleeping Habits

This short segment takes place after a reading group session commencing at about 10:40 in the late morning. The teacher suggests that the class take a five-minute break. A short discussion ensues surrounding what possible activities might take place during the break and whether or not the class will be going outside later. One of the students who had not participated in the formal reading group was found sleeping at her desk and the sixth grade teacher, Ms. B, called attention to the sleeping student. A general discussion begins about when various students in the class wake up in the morning. The sample transcript follows:

TCH: Anyhow, let's take a five minute break. Then by that time, if we have time we can play.

S: Okay. Can we...

TCH: D—, go down, look out the window and just see who's out there. Now sometime today we have to write a note about Jamestown. K—?

S: She's reading.

TCH: E—? Can't get up at seven o'clock? Make yourself one of these if you have time.

S: No. My mom be mad if I stay up all night long.

TCH: You know the way we usually do it in this room. Everybody gives me their telephone number for my book. Then I call...I call everybody's telephone and get them out of bed. Only one year somebody went back to bed.

S: Bet I wouldnta. (other comments) I'll call you.

TCH: Oh, that would be very nice. I'd appreciate that. Thank you. (pause) Because, because every kid has worked well.

S: I go to sleep early. I worked until 6 o'clock. I worked until 6 o'clock and I went back home to sleep and I sleep.

TCH: Oh, let me try that.

S: I'm going to bed at 11 o'clock. If I go to bed early I'll get up late.

TCH: How many people in this room get up before 6 o'clock in the morning? (show of hands)

S: I do.

S: I get up at seven o'clock.

S: I get up at 8 o'clock and then go back to sleep.

TCH: What time do you get up, M--?

Table 40 reveals the dominance of teacher talk even in very small group nonacademic contexts. Certainly, relatively more student initiations occur in this small group setting, however the numbers are so small that it is not feasible to draw any conclusions in this area.

Table 40

Frequency of Initiations and Responses Across Functions, Segment 6-3

	Initiation				Response			
Speaker	Event	Event Mgt.	Mgt. Pro.	C.C.	Event	Event Mgt.	Mgt. Pro.	C.C.
Teacher	12	7	2					
S	2				2			
D	1				2			
L	3				3			
K	1				2			

Table 41

Frequency of Utterances by Major Functions Category, Segment 6-3

		Initiation				Response			
Function	Spkr	Event	Event Mgt.	Mgt. Pro.	C.C.	Event	Event Mgt.	Mgt. Pro.	C.C.
I.	Tch		5			1			
INFORM &	S	2	1			1			
RESPOND	D	1				1			
	L	3				1			
	K	1				1			
II.	Tch	4	2	2					
CONTROL									
III.	Tch	4							
ASK/	S								
REQUEST	D								
	L					2			
	K					1			
IV.	Tch	4							
GIVE	D					1			
V.	Tch								
MODIFY	L					1			
	K					1			

Segment #4: Peer/Peer Group without Teacher

Topic: Stagefright

This segment occurs around midday after a lengthy period of composition recitations that students wrote and read to the entire class about what their lives would be like in the year 2,000. During the segment three boys have a discussion/argument about one boy's case of stagefright which allows him to be excused from a school play that everyone has been practicing and putting much energy into.

A sample transcript follows:

S: You stagefright? (question directed toward J)

J: Yeah, I'm stagefright.

S: Now you ain't. Ms. B! Ms. B!

(class gets noisy; L making faces at J who is standing; others make comments)

S: You say something?

J: I am stagefright.

(D approaches J)

D: You was talkin'. (They start an argument.)

J: Where?

D: At our student council, that's where, and you was talkin'.

J: I had to say it, I had to say it.

D: So, just like you have to be in the play.

J: No I don't.

D: Why don't you do something about your stagefright?

J: (to P) Don't give nobody my lunch.

D: Student Council. Don't say nothin' about Student Council.

TCH: (in another conversation) Who would like to be an actress? Why would you give up your part?

D: Who?

J: (unintelligible)

D: (unintelligible)

J: I was scared, man. Look, ass [ask] Kenny, ass Kenny. It was a whole lot of people at Hines Jr. High School. Wasn't that true and didn't I make some mistakes in my talk? Ass K—, man.

K: But you was talkin' then!

D: Are you gonna die doin'is walkin' across the stage? That's all you gotta do.

J: I'm stagefright.

D: You ain't gonna be talkin'

J: Huh?

D: All you gotta do is hold the gun. It's all you gonna do is hold a gun. I mean that's <u>all</u> you gonna do!

J: I'm not a cop.

D: That's all you you would'a done is hold up the gun.

J: [So, no I...I woulda walk across] the stage talkin'.

D: [Ain't that right? Wouldn't he?]

K: I'm gonna go, you should too James.

D: He's gonna keep doin' this.

J: Ain't we sussposed to be walkin' across the stage talkin'?

K: Yeah, we sussposed to be police. We sussposed to be police.

TCH: What's the matter here?

D: I was talkin' about his stagefright.

TCH: What?

D: I was talking about his stagefright.

TCH: What were you saying about it?

D: Uhm...Uhm. (points to J) I was asking him about the Student Council talk.

TCH: That's what gave him the stagefright in the first place.

D: But that's all he gon' be doing is walking across the stage.

TCH: That's all right. J—'s stagefright is his problem.

D: ???

TCH: That's why...it's a fear. It's a real fear. I can sympathize with that [ ] He has to work it out himself.

S: [Ms. B]

TCH: There's nothing to laugh at.

S: Ms. B, one time...

TCH: (interrupts) I suffered from stuff like that, too. I hated to go out on a stage. That same thing that happened to me, happens to him. He got out there and he didn't have the full realization of what it was gonna be like. It happened to a godchld of mine.

S: What happened?

TCH: She wanted to perform on the stage on a bicycle and I told her it was a dangerous thing to do and she did. She was out there on the bicycle and she almost went over, and now she won't go on a stage for anything. She has a resl fear.

D: (unintelligible)

TCH: It's like her attitude.

This segment is the single example of peer/peer interaction without teacher presented here. One observation should be made before presenting more detailed information, that is, throughout all segments in the sixth grade most discussions are very content- and topic-oriented. In this peer/peer interaction in particular all student talk is confined to the event/topic related area. This is very different from the fourth grade data where students pick up cues for the teacher and try to manage each other through a topic--one student consistently sought to assume the teacher role. In the sixth grade there seems to be less of a need to manage other's talk. The older students get, the less they seem to get off the track--they stick directly to the issue at hand.

Table 42 clearly displays the continuity of topic during this segment. Very little new information is introduced. Most of the communication/interaction extends, elaborates, explains, etc., information already set forth. Each communication chain among the three speakers is directly related to the previous response. Clearly, the amount of student talk in this setting increases dramatically over other segments discussed thus far. Also significant is the fact that student talk is broader and more evenly balanced over all five functional categories. Almost every related function under each of

the five major functional categories is used by each of the participants. Students in the peer/peer interactional setting begin to display skills in evaluating, confirming, offering, thanking, challenging and warning, and all Request categories were used. Curious again is the absence of talk in the Control category. Again, it seems that what is of more importance is dealing with the issue at hand rather than following the conventional rules of how information should be shared (management talk, i.e., raise your hand, you talked last, you got a turn, etc.). This behavior is more prevalent in the younger classroom settings. In the sixth grade setting among students, it seems that speech is monitored more by peers than behavior.

Table 42

Frequency of Initiations and Responses Across Functions, Segment 6-4

	Initiation				Response			
Speaker	Event	Event Mgt.	Mgt. Pro.	C.C.	Event	Event Mgt.	Mgt. Pro.	C.C.
D	22				34			
K	6				7			
J	16				25			

NOTE: + indicates number of functions occurring with dialect features.

Table 43 reveals the use of all major functional categories except, as mentioned before, the Control category. We also see a marked increase in dialect usage in both initiation and response categories. This increase in dialect use, both in peer/peer and in small groups without teacher present, was also manifested in the fourth grade data.

Table 43

Frequency of Utterances by Major Functions Category, Segment 6-4

		Initiation				Response			
Function	Spkr	Event	Event Mgt.	Mgt. Pro.	C.C.	Event	Event Mgt.	Mgt. Pro.	C.C.
I.	K	2(+2)				4			
INFORM &	J	3				6(+2)			
RESPOND	D	8(+3)				16(+4)			
II.	K								
CONTROL	J								
	D	1							
III.	K	3				1			
ASK/	J	8(+4)				2			
REQUEST	D	9				6(+2)			
IV.	K					2			
GIVE	J	4				5(+1)			
	D	2				6(+2)			
V.	K					2			
MODIFY	J	1				3			
	D	3(+1)				8(+2)			

NOTE: + indicates number of functions occurring with dialect features.

Segment #5: Academic Group Reading Lesson

Topic: Food Chains

This segment occurs in the early morning after the opening of school. The class has been instructed by the teacher to break off into their regular reading groups. The teacher then proceeds to help organize groups that will be working on their own. After those groups have settled down, she joins the group she intends to work with. The group includes a group of 10 children. Much of the interaction takes place while various children are at the blackboard. They attempt to point out and write down pertinent points in their discussion. A sample transcript follows:

S: .....

TCH: What are the types of relationship you said, La--?

LA: Mutualism.

TCH: All right, write "mutualism" and ask somebody what it is. Anybody know how to spell the root, "mutual"? How do you spell mutual?

GRP: M-U-T-U-A-L.

TCH: Didn't hear you?

GRP: M-U-T-U-A-L.

TCH: Put that down, K—, please. I asked you not to use that for a fan yesterday. That's your dictionary cover. No, mutual-ism. Spell it again for her. She left a letter out. La—.

LA: M-U-T-U-A-L.

TCH: Mutual...what? What is the ending? Mutual-ism.

LA: I-S?

TCH: Where is your "M"?

LA: (points to student)

S: A relationship where both partners benefit.

TCH: Very good. What are...I'm gonna go around now...What is...Say it again, La--.

LA: Mutualism is a partnership where both partners benefit.

TCH: Okay. It's a relationship where both partners benefit. What is mutualism, D—?

D: Mutualism is a partnership where both partners benefit.

TCH: Is a relationship where both partners benefit. What is it, K--?

K: A relationship...

TCH: I wanna hear what we're talking about. What are we talking about?

K: Mutualism is a relationship...

TCH: Is a partnership, a relationship, I'm sorry.

K: Where both partners benefit.

TCH: Okay, Le--. What is it?

LE: Mutualism is a relationship where both partners benefit.

TCH: Okay, V--, what is it?

V: Mutualism is a relationship where both partners benefit.

TCH: Can you think of an example, V--?

S: (unintelligible)

OTH: Ooh! Ooh!

TCH: K--?

K: Being married.

TCH: Hm?

K: When they get married.

TCH: She's saying partners in marriage. Is that mutualism?

GRP: Yes.

TCH: Yes. Okay. So would you give me an example of that, partners in marriage. Partners. Awright what is mutualism, Ns--?

NS: Mutualism is a relationship where both partners benefit.

TCH: Da--!

DA: Mutualism is a relationship where both partners benefit.

TCH: Very good. Uh, how about you, ah, Nc--?

NC: Mutualism is a relationship...

S:

TCH: (to S) You could have called (unintelligible) for that yesterday.

NC: ...both partners benefit.

TCH: Very unkind of you. Go on, K--?

K: Mutualism is a re...par...relationship where both partners benefit.

TCH: All right, Di--, tell us another relationship.

DI: Para...parasit...

TCH: Parasitism. Good. What is parasitism, Di--? Can you tell me what parasitism is?

DI: One partner is harmed.

TCH: A relationship where...?

DI: One partner is harmed.

TCH: Good. And will get hurt. One partner is harmed. Very good. Can you give me an example of that, Di--?

DI: A tick on a dog's back.

TCH: Very good. A tick on a dog's back. What can happen to the dog?

DI: The dog get bit by the tick.

TCH: And what happens? What does the tick introduce into the dog?

DI: Tries to suck his blood.

TCH: Good. Did she spell parasitism right? I can't see. How'd you spell it? (to LA)

LA: P-A-R-S...

TCH: Para--Para—sitism. What is the root of the word parasitism?

S: Para...Parasite.

TCH: Parasite.

GRP: Parasite.

LA: You want me to write parasite?

TCH: No, parasitism. That's the relationship. Who can spell that for her, parasitism. I know you brought your notes home, but...Does anybody have their notes with them?

S: I do.

S: I have.

TCH: Awright, could you spell parasitism for her?

S: P-A-R-A-S-I-T-I-S-M.

TCH: Okay. One partner then is...one partner is what? In parasitism. Not benefit but is what? That was very good, Di--. Can you give me a definition of parasitism, Mo--? A relationship where...

MO: One partner is harmed.

TCH: Okay, what is parasitism, Ma--?

MA: A relationship where one partner is harmed.

TCH: Very good. P—.

P: A relationship where one partner is harmed.

Table 44

Frequency of Initiations and Responses Across Functions, Segment 6-5

	Initiation				Response			
Speaker	Event	Event Mgt.	Mgt. Pro.	C.C.	Event	Event Mgt.	Mgt. Pro.	C.C.
Teacher	51	41			20	17		
Group					18	2		
S		2			3	1		
L	1				12	1		
D					19	4		
V					2			
K					7			
C	1							
O					2			
N					3			

Table 44 shows the frequency of response across functions within events. At first glance it is clear that teacher talk dominates in terms of initiations. Across events and functions there is a total of only two student initiations of topic. Most teacher talk is event bound or topic related. Notice that there are small group participatory configurations in this medium size group, in contrast to the larger. The teacher displays more talk in the event management category. In the discussion of Table 45 the reasons for the increase of teacher talk in this are will become clear.

Student talk occurs in direct response to teacher questions. As in the case of teacher talk, most student responses are event bound or topic related. Again, instances of student management or initiation are minimal.

Table 45 gives an indication of the frequency of teacher and student responses within functions across events. We see here that in terms of initiations the bulk of teacher talk is found in two categories: the functional categories of requesting and control. Within the request function most questioning is in the request of a particular product. A few process requests

occur. In direct relation to the "product" questioning technique we find that most of the student responses, logically, are product bound.

Table 45

Frequency of Utterances by Major Functions Category, Segment 6-5

		Initiation				Response			
Function	Spkr	Event	Event Mgt.	Mgt. Pro.	C.C.	Event	Event Mgt.	Mgt. Pro.	C.C.
I.	Tch	8	1			16	3		
INFORM &	V					2			
RESPOND	C	1							
	K					6			
	D					18(+2)			
	Group					19			
	L					12	1		
	S					6	3		
II.	Tch	4	30			4	2		
CONTROL									
III.	Tch	38	8				1		
ASK/	S		1				1		
REQUEST	D					1			
	Group						1		
IV.	Tch		1				10		
GIVE	S		1						
	D						3		
V.	Tch	1	1				1		
MODIFY	D						1		

NOTE: + indicates number of functions occurring with dialect features.

The dramatic increase of evidence--when compared to other segments--of teacher control was primarily induced by increased teacher use of the teacher nomination. There were few verbal student requests for turns and few teacher

initiations to bid, but there was a great deal of hand raising. Teacher and student talk occurs across all five functional categories. There is an increase of teacher attention to evaluatory responses to student responses that has not been found in previous segments.

Within the response category an overwhelming number of responses in the informing functional category are repetitions. The sample transcript reveals the nature of the teacher's questioning patterns and her method of involving students in participation. Notice that each student in the reading group is asked to repeat the correct response to teacher questions. Oftentimes the teacher herself again repeats the response the student has repeated. Repetition obviously is a major strategy employed by this teacher in the teaching-learning process. Only two instances of dialect occurs in this segment and both are contained in statements by the same child.

What appears to be happening in large and small group academic settings with the teacher present is a very limited restricted range of questioning styles which allow for specific resonses from students. A predetermined specific right answer is to be supplied in the correct "blank." No interaction in these participatory structures occurs between students and interaction occurs between teacher and student only in the question/response mode. There are surprisingly few student questions in any of the academic settings with teacher present. This is in stark contrast to the peer/peer setting where students question and challenge each other consistently. Again, in academic teacher-present settings fewer functional categories of talk are used, while in teacher-absent settings a broader range of functions even within the functional categories is used by students with each other. The only student-to-student interaction occuring in academic/teacher-present segments are instances when students are calling on each other to answer a teacher-directed question.

Sixth Grade Summary

In summary, the major points reported will be discussed according to participant structures. We have discovered that in academic teacher-directed events (Segments 1, 2 and 5), teacher talk is clustered primarily in the requesting functional categories followed by the informing categories and it is essentially event bound in whole group settings. In smaller group settings there is a more even balance of talk in both event and event management categories. Student talk is severely limited in teacher-directed settings. The talk is clustered in the responding functional category in response to basically product and choice type questions. Almost no student initiations occur and dialect use is virtually nonexistent.

In teacher-present nonacademic events (Segment 3), surprisingly little change is evidenced. The teacher continues to dominate the verbal activity, asking questions and issuing directives. There is a very slight increase in student initiations but no major change in the teacher question/student response interactional pattern. Little student-to-student interaction occurs and expanded use of functional categories is not in evidence, either for teacher or students. Dialect use in a classroom where most students have been defined as dialect speakers is minimal, comparable to use in whole group settings.

In peer/peer events (Segment 4) a dramatic contrast is observed. The increase in student initiations and student-to-student interaction is striking. Verbal interaction in all five functional categories is displayed, as is a wider variety of event situations. Use of dialect increases dramatically. A more balanced use of the initiation and response mode is obvious.

Overall, we can say the following about functional language use and its relationship to dialect use in this sixth grade classroom:

- Teacher talk dominates in both large and small groupings, both academic and nonacademic in nature. The talk is limited primarily to the Inform, Request, and Evaluate functional categories.

- Dialect use is virtually nonexistent in teacher-directed/-present settings. Little student talk occurs other than in direct resonse to teacher questions. Functional categories like elaboration, extending, explaining modifying, etc. do not occur at the student level.

- In peer/peer interactions, a wider variety of talk consistently occurs across functional categories and event. Real interaction and exchange takes place. Dialect usage increases dramatically, especially in the management control domains.

C. Noticing and Correcting Variation in the Classroom

The goal of this section is to shed some light on another aspect of dialect diversity in educational settings, that is, how the occurrence of dialect features is dealt with in the classroom. This section compares occurrences of dialect features which are noticed and corrected by the teacher with "potentially correctables," that is, occurrences of dialect features that are clearly heard by the teacher, but not corrected. Three questions are addressed:

1) Which features seem to merit correction and which do not--is there some discernible pattern?

2) Which features do speakers refer to as being "correctable" or "corrected"?

3) What are the strategies for correction--are there principles that unite the correction events?

Examples of occurrences of dialect features are taken from videotapes made in the sixth-grade classroom. An example of the occurrence of a dialect feature that is noticed and corrected by the teacher was documented in the following segment of a whole group discussion concerning the up-coming class trip to Jamestown and the issue of how much money should be taken for souvenirs and lunch:

T: What do you get for an allowance each week, L--?
S1: I don't get no allowance.
T: I don't get no allowance?

S2: (laughter)
T: What was that?
S1: I don't get...I don't get any allowance.
T: You don't get any allowance?
S1: Nope. My grandmother get my money.

This example is in contrast to an occurrence of dialect features clearly heard by the teacher but not corrected, as is the case in a rather heated discussion about whether or not one should keep or return the belongings of others that one has found:

S1: Billy do, too.
S2: You do, too.
T: You know, what does the word too mean?
S3: Willy do.
T: What does the word too mean? When he said, "You do, too." Aren't you admitting you do it yourself? When you s...
S1: No.
T and Others: Yeah.
T: Yeah! So that means I did do it and so did you.
S1: I don't...
T: So you just gave a confession. I did too.
S1: He do. I don't.
T: I do too.
S: Uh uh!

The present analysis is based on a total of 45 such examples extracted from the videotapes. The corpus includes five examples of corrected phonological features, eleven examples of uncorrected phonological features, eight examples of corrected syntactic features, and 21 examples of uncorrected syntactic features.

This brings us to the first question, i.e., which features seem to merit correction and which do not. Let us turn first to

the phonological features. As we see from Figure A, attention is given to unstressed syllable reduction (as in the pronunciation of a student's name, Karen: KΛRn - KəRIn), to "t" deletion (At School Close), to variant pronunciation of the indefinite article (a athlete), and in one instance, to consonant cluster simplification (penhouse).

Figure 13

Corrected vs. Uncorrected Phonological Features

Corrected	No. of instances	Uncorrected	No. of instances
[KΛRnt] v. [KΛRɛnt]	1		
[KΛRn] v. [KəRIn]	1		
t deletion	1		
a/an	1		
cc simplification	1	cc simplification	6
		t deletion	1
		θ → f; θ → ∅	1 ea.
		vocalized ɫ	1
		"I 'on know"	1

There are many more uncorrected occurrences of consonant cluster simplification, as well as deletion of intervocalic t (Saturday); θ → f (fifteenth); θ → ∅ (sixth); vocalized ɫ (April); and the almost formulaic "I 'on know," involving initial d- and final -t deletion.

Figure 13 shows the breakdown of corrected and uncorrected syntactic items.

Figure 14

Corrected vs. Uncorrected Syntactic Features

Corrected	No. of instances	Uncorrected	No. of instances
No/any; anything/nothing	4	Anything/nothing	2
Irregular past tense	2	Irregular past tense	1
Ain't/didn't	3	Ain't/didn't	1
		3rd pers. sing. -s	7
		Iterative be	3
		Copula deletion	2
		Locative/existential It	3
		Ain't as Aux. (haven't; isn't/aren't)	1
		Plural -s	1

We see that correction is concentrated on negative concord or multiple negation, on the use of ain't as an auxiliary in place of didn't, and on irregular past tense forms. It is perhaps striking to notice how many different dialect features occur without correction, including:

1. The use of ain't as an auxiliary for haven't and isn't:
   We ain't goin' to P.E.?

2. Third person singular present -s absence:
   A person who come from Vietnam...

3. Iterative be:
   In the year 2000, if I be livin'...

4. Copula deletion:

They a nuisance.

5. -s plural absence:

Both partner benefit.

6. The locative/existential It's construction:

It was $10 in it.

This breakdown leads to the question "Does the same feature sometimes get corrected and sometimes not get corrected?" In this regard, the only area of what we might call overlap between corrected and uncorrected phonological features is with consonant cluster reduction, the single corrected penthouse example being in contrast to finished and kept. There is more such overlap with the syntactic features, where ain't for didn't, negative concord with the indefinite nothing, and irregular verb forms occur both with and without correction. Following the simple classification and description of the phonological and syntactic features that do or do not receive correction, the next step is the attempt to explain why certain features get attention and others do not, and to account for the overlap areas.

We have said that the videotaped activities could be divided into different kinds of events. Figure 15 shows the breakdown of corrected and uncorrected features by type of event. We see from this that most of the correction takes place in whole group lessons, and that relatively little correction takes place in small groups or in one-on-one situations. Furthermore, while an almost equal number of uncorrected and corrected features occur in whole groups, the largest number of uncorrected features occur in what have been designated as special events: the reading of compositions, acting out scenes, the spelling bee, and so forth.

Figure 15

Corrected and Uncorrected Features by Event Type

Syntactic		
	Corrected	Uncorrected
whole	4	10
small	1	-
one-on-one	3	2
special	-	10
Phonological		
	Corrected	Uncorrected
whole	3	1
small	-	-
one-on-one	-	-
special	2	10
Syntactic & Phonological		
	Corrected	Uncorrected
whole	7	11
small	1	-
one-on-one	3	2
special	2	20

The information from Figure 15 leads us to wonder exactly what the uncorrected features in special events are, and whether they differ noticeably from uncorrected features in whole group lessons. For this, we turn to Figure 16. Here we find that whole groups and special events seem to differ in the occurrence of whole groups, and special events seem to differ in the occurrence of uncorrected syntactic features, the only overlap between the two events being the use of ain't as an auxiliary and third person singular present -s absence. This difference in the occurrence of uncorrected syntactic features between whole groups and special events can be accounted for fairly easily: the range of features

Figure 16

Corrected and Uncorrected Features in Whole Groups and Special Events

Uncorrected Syntactic	Uncorrected Phonological	Corrected Syntactic	Corrected Phonological
WHOLE GROUPS			
ain't/d'dn't	"I 'on know"	no/any	[KʌRN]-[KɛRIN]
ain't as Aux		nothing/anything	[KəRɛNT]-[KʌRNT]
copula deletion		ain't/didn't	t deletion
3rd pers sg s		done/did	
It's...			
anything/nothing			
SPECIAL EVENTS			
iterative be	cc reduction		a/an
2nd pers sg s	t deletion		cc reduction
ain't as Aux	θ → f; θ → Ø		
plural -s	vocalized ɫ		
irregular past tense			

represented in both events is no doubt an artifact of the small corpus, and a larger sample would probably show the occurrence of all features in both types of events. However, the high frequency of non-correction in special events can probably be accounted for by the nature of the events. In comparison to whole group lessons, special events are relatively formal events that include a presentation of some kind, be it a performance or a reading. Special events have invisible boundaries that the teacher seems

reluctant to cross in order to effect a correction. That is, once a child's performance or presentation is underway, the teacher will not interrupt it for the purpose of correcting the child's speech. Furthermore, there appears to be a general awareness of the special nature of these events in the participants, since there is no overlap of features between uncorrected-special event and corrected-whole group. We can suggest that there is a style-shifting taking place in special events, defined in part by an avoidance of features that regularly get corrected in other domains, such as negative concord with indefinites, irregular verb principal parts, and ain't for didn't substitution.

There may indeed be style-shifting taking place between different types of events, but we must still account for the limited overlap within events. That is, how do we account for the fact that only a handful of features, both syntactic and phonological, get corrected, while many others occur uncorrected. Furthermore, how do we account for the fact that the same feature sometimes gets corrected and sometimes does not? To arrive at answers to these questions, we turn to two sources. One is the work of Wolfram and Fasold on the relative stigmatization of dialect features. They remark that "...nonstandard grammar is more likely than nonstandard pronunciation to arrest attention of speakers of the standard dialects and thus lead to negative reactions on their part" (1974:149). This observation that syntactic features are more highly stigmatized than phonological features has been made by other sociolinguists (e.g. Shuy 1972). It is also supported by the reflections of the teacher and the students in this study on language usage in general and on correction in particular. It will be recalled that the second research question in this study is "which features do speakers refer to as being "correctable" or "corrected"? As part of the data collection, the sixth-graders in this study were interviewed in self-selected groups of three or four, and were asked, among other things, about the nature of lan-

guage correction in the classroom. Six different items were mentioned as being targets for correction, as can be seen in Figure 17. We see that ain't as an auxiliary (e.g. I ain't got no more) and negative concord with indefinites head the list, followed by correction of a politeness marker, and specific lexical items (e.g. the use of "what not" as a lexical item, e.g. "I went to the store for milk and eggs and what not..."), some of which cannot be said to be dialect-related. We see that this corresponds to the actual frequency of correction observed in the classroom. Furthermore, we notice that no mention is made of phonological features by the students. In her interview, the teacher mentioned "verb forms and endings" as targets for correction.

Figure 17

Frequency of Mentioning Dialect Features in Interviews

Feature	Number of Times Mentioned
ain't as Aux (haven't; isn't/aren't)	6
indefinites (negative concord)	5
huh v. pardon me	2
"what not"	1
"bad words"	1

It would appear, then, that while a wide range of both phonological and syntactic dialect features occur, only certain ones are candidates for correction. This does not necessarily mean that some uncorrected dialect features are not noticed by the teacher, who remarked that there are some features that one can't correct, because they are "reinforced in speech at home." There seems to be another principle at work here concerning the linguistic nature of the corrected features as opposed to the uncorrected ones. Recall that the uncorrected features include

third person singular present -s, iterative be, copula deletion, plural -s, ain't as an auxiliary, and locative/existential It's. All of these are what we might want to call "active" features in that they are general features that can apply to a very wide range of items in the language: the -s plural can be variably deleted from any noun that takes an -s plural; it can be used as an existential in an enormously wide range of linguistic environments; similarly, third person singular present -s can be variably deleted on a very large number of present-tense verbs. The point is that what unites these features is that they are all rules which apply to large classes of items. The items to which such rules apply are not easily isolable, precisely because of the broad or general nature of the rules. This is in contrast to the features that do get corrected, such as ain't/didn't substitution, or negative concord with indefinites. Here the class of items to which the rule applies is noticeably smaller and may be limited, as in the case of ain't/didn't, to one item. It is easy to single the item out, and the item itself seems to take on the characteristic of a fixed lexical item as opposed to the object of a general syntactic or phonological rule. Indeed, the isolability and relative singularity of the corrected features may be useful in understanding how certain features become socially stigmatized in the first place.

Also emerging from this discussion is the issue of teachers' awareness of the nature of dialect diversity. The question is not whether a teacher should or should not correct dialect features. The question is whether a teacher is aware of and can articulate awareness of general rules for using features such as third person singular -s, -s plural, iterative be, and so forth. And, clearly, what would be the effect of that awareness on the correction of dialect features?

We have asked why it is that the same feature sometimes gets corrected and sometimes does not. We have a contrast, for example, between Examples 8a and 8b:

8a. T: How old's your sister, R--?
S: I ain't [unintelligible]
T: Somebody signed your name.
S: I know I ain't sign.
T: I didn't, I didn't, I didn't.

8b. S: I ain't get no reward. I be finding money...
T: Yeah, but you kept the money. Why should you get the reward?

One explanation may have to do simply with the dynamics of the classroom and the teacher's necessarily divided attention. An irregular verb produced orally got corrected, for example (buyed-bought), while another one, written on the board and noticed by the teacher, did not (The man has ran out the door). There is another possible explanation, which at this point can only be speculative, given the limited size of the corpus. This explanation concerns the teacher's perception and expectations of the child's language usage and language ability, and of whether or not it is "worth it" to attempt correction. While we should stress that the number of examples is limited, it is interesting to note that the uncorrected instances of ain't as an auxiliary and of negative concord with indefinites are produced by the same child. Similarly, two of four examples of corrected negative concord are from one child. Furthermore, as observed from the group interviews and in-class language usage, the child who gets corrected displays sharp awareness of the implications of dialect usage particularly in later adult life. A closer analysis of this child's speech would probably reveal her to be more of a

"mixed-code" speaker than the child whose speech is uncorrected and reveals a higher frequency of dialect features. While recognizing its speculative nature, a useful hypothesis for further research might be that more correction is given to those children perceived to be more on the standard end of a dialect diversity continuum and that a teacher's decision whether or not to correct may be partly based on her perception of the child's language ability and of what we might call "standard language potential." This hypothesis is supported by the teacher's comments about home language usage mentioned earlier. Note that there are four children whose dialect features are both corrected and uncorrected, and the presence or absence of correction can also be explained in terms of the nature of the event, as mentioned earlier. A key issue, however, and the issue underlying the proposed hypothesis, is whether the presence or absence of correction of dialect features may have to do with the linguistic nature of the features in question, with stigmatization, and with tangible instances of language usage; however, it may have as much to do with the less tangible, more elusive and complex nature of social interaction in the classroom and with the intricate dynamic between individual teachers and individual students.

Finally, a word about the strategies used for correction. Four separate strategies seem to be in use in this classroom, as follows:

1) Question incorporating the dialect feature:
   He buyed a car?

2) Question incorporating the correction:
   You didn't write anything?
   You don't have any paper?

3) Modeling:

I didn't, I didn't, I didn't
He did it.

4) Overt comment or question:

And don't let me hear "I didn't write nothing."
What is it supposed to be?

As they are listed, the strategies seem to be ordered in terms of level of indirectness. In Strategy 1, by repeating the child's utterance, the teacher's question doubles as a request for clarification or elaboration. It is up to the child to single out which function is intended, and to amend the utterance as necessary. Strategy 2 is clearly more direct than 1, since the teacher provides the standard version of the dialect feature. Still embedded in a question, however, the strategy provides indirectness and the benefit of the doubt. Strategy 3 gets more direct, as the teacher singles out the item and repeats the standard form, while Strategy 4 combines an exact repetition of the dialect feature, and a direct, overt comment on what is seen as appropriate. Interestingly, the most common strategies are those that provide the standard form, that is, Strategies 2 and 3. It may be that Strategy 1 runs the risk of getting misunderstood as a request for clarification or elaboration and that the correcting function may get lost; similarly, Strategies 2 and 3 accomplish the correcting and modeling function by avoiding the explicitness of Strategy 4. The correcting function is taken care of while maintaining a degree of conversational distance and decorum.

B. ANALYSIS OF EVENTS ACROSS GRADES

1. Openings

It was decided early on that some type of analysis should be performed on what are referred to here as school openings. From our observations we have come to define a school openings as a signal indicating that "it's time to 'do' school." Three factors prompted the decision: 1) all three classrooms across grade levels participated in the "school opening" activity; 2) all classrooms, regardless of grade level, participated in the activity in a very similar fashion; 3) the significance or treatment of the activity seemed to shift over time.

The difficulty in determining the type of analysis came from attempting to avoid a straight functional linguistic analysis. In the case of this activity, the purpose of its enactment seemed to be more important than the language in which it was accomplished, since the language was almost identical in the kindergarten, fourth grade and sixth grade classrooms. The activity itself could be described as extremely ritualistic. The rules are crystal clear, the structure and control surrounding the activity unquestionable.

Four areas will help focus the analysis and discussion of school opening activities: 1) a look at the activities and practices that occur directly before and after school openings which help to define the activity for the participants; 2) a discussion of the activity as a ritual--what behaviors, practices, rules are being transmitted and learned; 3) the developmental aspects of the activity--how it differs from age 5 to 9 to 12 years; 4) the components of the activity--what parts does it consist of.

Two segments of school openings were analyzed from each grade level. A sample transcript from grades K, 4 and 6 follow:

TCH: Thank you, children. You may take your seats.

S: All right! (inaudible)

S: Miss P, | Miss P, What are those... |

TCH: My, | I enjoyed your voices. | Oh, we'll just talk about those.

S: Talk about what?

TCH: Thank you very much.

D: Sit down!

TCH: Thank you. Who was opening school for us today?

S: G--.

S: T--.

K: I picked E--.

S: T--.

S: Unh-Unh.

C: Yes I picked...I picked E-- 'cause he...

S: [(inaudible)

S: T--.]

E: May you please stand?

TCH: I'm sorry, C--, they're not ready yet.

S: C--!

TCH: Our friend, uh, E--, our friends are not ready. Let's just, let's just get ourselves together. [I'm sure we know how to do it.

S: (inaudible)

S: Move over some.]

S: Move over some.

S: Can't sit down because K--...

S: Move over.

TCH: My darling P--. We do not wish to have to take you to the bathroom.

S: Miss P, I...

TCH: That's all right.

E: May you please stand. [Beginning of formal opening] Place your right hand on your heart.

STUDENTS AND TEACHER: I pledge allegiance to the flag of the United States of America and to the republic for which it stands, one nation under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all.

(singing:)

My country 'tis of thee, sweet land of liberty, of thee I sing.
Land where my fathers died, land of the pilgrim's pride
From every mountainside let freedom ring.

Our father God to thee, author of liberty, to thee we sing.
Long may our land be bright with freedom's holy light
Protect us by thy might, great God our king.

E: You may be seated.

S: Ooh, ah.

E: I'm gonna tell. I've chosen J--.

TCH: All right. J--, you remember that you'll open school tomorrow. Oh, C--, give yourself space to sit down. Thank you very much. Uh, this morning, children...now children...we have activities to do today. And I know that you want to get into doing those things today. Nevertheless, we have to decide where we're going to work today so that you will be able to enjoy yourself and work with yourfriends and Miss P will not have to disturb you. I want you to have fun today. So we need to plan as to what we're going to do.
Now, I'll tell you the activities that we will have. We have today... the sand table will be open today. Think about that. That's only one activity. All right. The children...there are some children that want to work in groups working in the block area, working with farm animals, the barn, and so forth. You might work with that. Think about that.
How many activities?

The "opening" for this kindergarten classroom takes place after children have been in the room for about 20 minutes. The morning begins with "singing" right after the first bell rings. All songs are teacher-selected (see pages 53-54 for a discussion of kindergarten songs). The class sang approximately five songs before beginning the "opening" ritual. We refer to it as a ritual because it is practiced daily, the participants are fully aware of the expected and appropriate rules of behavior, and all participants anticipate the temporal/locational aspects of the event. As mentioned earlier, this activity appears to be a strong marker for indicating that it is the appropriate time to really "do" school. Taking the roll, singing songs, and chatting have taken place prior to this activity. Directly following the activity, the

teacher clarifies the day's agenda--what is to be accomplished in school on this particular day.

Not only do students learn when to "do" school from this event--they also learn "how" to "do" school within this event:

- Children are taught how to select/nominate other students for the task of leadership.

- Children learn how to be selected for leadership tasks:
  1) Sit quietly.
  2) Raise your hand.
  3) Do not speak out of turn.
  4) Speak "politely"/"May you please stand."
  5) Make appropriate/proper responses to teacher/student initiations.

- Children learn recognition of American values/national pride:
  1) Recite Pledge.
  2) Sing My Country Tis of Thee.

- Children learn to plan to think about and organize a day's activities at the beginning of the day.

The kindergarten openings are full of student and teacher interruptions of the "opening" activity to reinforce the rules of the interaction. Students correct other students (" didn't pick her because..."). The teacher corrects students ("We just are not ready yet, why do you suppose we are not ready?").

Sample Transcript: School Opening, Fourth Grade

(Bell rings. The teacher is writing the plan for the day on the board.)
S: Would you please stand?
(All stand.)
S: Who can tell me what's today?

S: Today is Thursday, June the third.

C: Raise your right hand and place it over your heart.

(All students recite the Pledge of Allegiance, sing "My Country Tis of Thee" and recite "Our Flag" poem.)

C: (Selection of those tables [groups of children] who are ready to be seated: R's table, J and K's table, L's table.)

C: Who would like to sing a song? R--.

R: Army life.

(All sing "Army Life.")

C: Who would like to say a poem? M--.

M: Fishy fish in the brook.

(All recite poem.)

C: Who would like to sing a fun song?

(All sing "Don Gato.")

C: Who would like to sing another song? D--?

(All sing "Count Up From Zero.")

C: Who would like to recite a poem? V--.

V: Mother to Son [by Langston Hughes].

(All recite "Mother to Son.")

C: Who would like to sing another song? Please be seated.

TCH: Children, all the jackets should be taken off. I think it's too warm inside. (Students take jackets off. Hands go up.)

C: L--. (L goes to board to write. C takes pointer to go over "plans.")

S: Our Plans. Good Morning.

(All children read in unison the plans for the day. Next, teacher takes roll. Next, students are allowed, table by table, to go to the pencil sharpener.)

The fourth grade "opening" begins promptly after the bell rings, first thing in the morning. Students are selected for conducting the opening by the teacher the previous day. In the fourth grade class the singing aspect of beginning the day in the kindergarten class has become incorporated into the formal opening. After the recitation of the Pledge and the singing of My

Country Tis of Thee, students are instructed to quietly sit down (table by table—selections by student leader). At this time students are asked to suggest songs they would like to sing. The fourth grade class is enthusiastic and has 100% participation in the "opening school" activity.

Students control the activity completely while the teacher is busy completing other tasks (putting plans on the board, taking roll, helping late students to get organized). At no time does she interrupt the activity or usurp power or authority from the leader of the day.

Sample Transcript: School Openings, Sixth Grade

TCH: (writes on board "Library books are due.") Everybody see what it says?
S: Yes.
TCH: All of your books are due today and you're not gonna be able to take out any more for the rest of the year.
K: Ah know.
M: I know, but I'm just telling you...
TCH: Okay, who is the leader for today?
K: L—. (L goes to front of class.)
L: Please stand. Raise your right hand. Place it over your heart.
(Class recites Pledge of Allegiance.)
L: Does anyone have a suggestion for a patriotic song?
C: The Black National Anthem. (All sing "Lift Every Voice and Sing.")
TCH: (interrupts, class continues to sing) Put some life into it.
L: Does anyone have a suggestion for a spiritual song? Does anyone have a suggestion for another patriotic song?
S: God Bless America.
TCH: (class beings to sing) Could somebody else please volunteer.
L: Does anyone have a suggestion for a fun song?
R: Touch the Wind. (All sing reluctantly.)
TCH: Why don't you sing songs you learned in music class? (Students are not participating to teacher's satisfaction.)
(Class sings "Morning Has Broken," "You Light Up My Life," "Old West."
Class beings to read the Plans for the Day listed on the blackboard.)

The sixth grade class treats "opening school" as a dreaded activity to be tolerated at best and ignored at worst. Recitations and song singing commands about a 50% participation level. Student leaders are selected daily, but the classroom teacher consistently assumes this role during the opening activity as evidenced in the sample transcript. By sixth grade the duration of the activity is at maximum 10-15 minutes and the teacher acts as the prompter to keep the activity alive.

2. Whole Groups

The focus of the following discussion is a comparison of the functional language in whole group lessons across the three grades. One whole group lesson was selected from each grade and transcribed. The analysis includes a comparison of the major function types in each lesson, a description and comparison of the student-teacher exchange types in each lesson, and a brief discussion of the occurrence of dialect features in whole group lessons.

The whole group lesson selected for the kindergarten is known as the "rice lesson." This lesson took place on June 8, 1981 and began at 2:15 p.m., following naptime and exercises. All of the children were gathered with the teacher around a small worktable upon which were placed a container of rice and plastic scales. The object of the lesson was to explain the basic workings of scales. What follows is an excerpt from the transcript of this lesson:

T: What are these things? What are these [instruments of measurement?

K: [Instruments of measuring things.

Measure of a measure. Like, like it's a, like this is, this is, um, heavier than the other one.

T: Well, how do you suppose [we're gonna get it to

K: ['Cause it

T: [to balance out?]

K: [if you] No, it don't go. You don't supposed to put this in there. You put these, you put these in that one.

T: (taking weights out of P's hand) Uh, very good. May I have them from you now? I think all the other children want to see. And, if you'd sit down, I'll talk to you about what we have. Just sit right down, children. Just sit down. Thank you, D--. D--? Thank you, just sit right down for a minute.

S: Stop it.

T: I know that you're interested in this. And I want you to be. I really do because someone said just a moment ago we are measuring things. Well, there's another word for that, too.

S: Measuring.

T: When you go to the store and buy things with mommy, especially go to the grocery store, and mommy [uh,]

S: [Measuring]

T: buy bananas, or buys potatoes

The 4th grade whole group lesson is called Body Parts. This lesson took place at 9:20 a.m. on June 3, 1981, following the opening of the day. All of the children were seated at their desks, and the object of the lesson was to identify and describe the different systems within the human body (digestive, nervous, etc.). The teacher made a list of the systems and the parts of the systems as the children named them. The lesson also served as

the introduction to a class assignment for which the children looked through the daily newspaper, the Weekly Reader, and health textbooks for words pertaining to body systems. An excerpt from the transcript follows:

T: That's, that's just what I'm getting ready to explain to you about. The things that you just finished talking about happen to be parts of our body. But they go together to help to develop what we call the body system. That means the body is made up of different systems that help the body to function. One of those systems will be what we call our nervous, your nervous system. And what part do you think would help to affect your nervous system? Help to keep it going.

S: Skin.

T: Your what, darlin'?

S: Your skin.

T: Your skin? Yeah, I guess, your skin.

S: Your heart. Your heart.

T: Your heart. Okay. What else?

S: Your brain.

T: Okay, the heart, the brain. But those are just some ideas of some of the things that would go under your nervous sytem. If it goes out, if anything goes wrong, then it won't function as well. What other system do you think we would have in the body?

S: The veins.

T: The what?

S: Veins.

T: Veins? Okay, now the veins is included in the system. Okay, the skin also. Okay, uh, I--.

S: Another part of your body? The ribs.

T: Yeah, we said the ribs. But I'm just saying that it, we have systems to help to make your body run, okay? So, we talked about the nervous system. We have another type that keep the blood floating. And that's called your what?

S: The blocd.

T: Okay, we have digestive system. The digestive system. And what do you think the digestive system would compose of? (hands up) It, it does have to do with eating.

[Okay.
S: [Your stomach.]

T: Your stomach. How do you eat? It does into you [what?
S: [Mouth.]

Mouth.

T: It comes down to your [what?
S: [throat.]

T: Okay, all those are parts of that digestive system. Okay, then you have what we call a circulation system and that is where the blood floats through your body. Okay? You have the muscular system. Okay? And that's where all your muscles, your muscles are involved. Okay? So we have system that help to, the parts of our body to function. So, now what we are going to do today, we are going to look for words that have to do with the body system. Okay? You're gonna look in the Weekly Reader and in the newspaper and see if you can find any words that have to do with the body system. I just gave you some examples. So I will erase everything I have put on the board away and take this down so you'll have an idea of what we're talkin' about and what we're going to look for today. Okay. Now, the body—I just told you what the body systems were—okay—some idea what they are. And the examples were, uh, your nervous sytem, the digestive system, circulation, okay? Systems. And if you can find any words that are pertaining to those things—and what did I do with my Weekly Readers?

S: Right here.

T: Would you give them out, R—? Get your health books out also. If you want a magazine to help you out, they will be right here. Okay? So you can use your health book, Weekly Reader and a magazine. A newspaper, if you want one. You have 10 minutes.

For the 6th grade, the whole group lesson selected is referred to as Legally Responsible. The lesson took place on June 5, 1981, at 1:00 p.m., following lunch and recess. All of the children were seated at their desks and the teacher was at the front of the room. The children had been given a series of

questions concerning the concept of legal responsibility. Each question consisted of brief description of background situation and 2-3 questions concerning appropriate behavior in the situation. One child was chosen to read each background situation, and the discussion centered on the correct answer to the questions. An excerpt of the transcript follows:

J: Johnny left his roller skates on the front porch step. Ken was not watching where he was goin', stepped on the skates and broke his leg.

T: What is the question? The underlined words are what?

D: [(unintelligible)

T: [I didn't ask you. I asked him.

J: Legally responsible.

T: All right, what does legally responsible mean. (goes to board)

L: I know what it is.

T: What is...L—!

J: Who is really responsible.

T: I wanna know what the words mean. (writes on the board) What's the word. Is that right?

SS: No.

T: (looks at what she's written and corrects)

J: Legally.

T: Right. What does legal mean. By what?

S: [By law.]

T: [By law.] Okay. Legally responsible. What does responsible mean?

J: Uhm.

T: What does to be responsible mean. How 'bout somebody from Miss Weatherburn's room. J—, what does responsible mean. (walks to him)

J: (unintelligible) Because you got to

T: Pardon me.

J: (unintelligible) Because you got to.

T: Because you got to? Anybody else has an idea what responsible means. [D—.]

D: [Take care of something.]

T: To take care of. What does it mean (points to someone in the back)

L: To take care of something.

S: (Teacher has pointed to him) It means to watch out for your own stuff in case you lose it.

T: Okay. To be responsible means to be...? (cups her ear)

S: In charge.

T: You're responsible to who (unintelligible)

S: Yourself.

T: For yourself. So if you are responsible for yourself, then who's in charge of you?

S: Yourself.

T: Your teacher?

S: No.

T: Your, uh, principal?

S: No.

T: When you come to school who you're responsible for?

S: [Yourself.]

T: [Yourself,] for and to yourself.

Each of the three lessons was coded for language functions in the same way that all other segments were coded, and note was made of the occurrence of dialect features. Figure 18 provides a

comparison of major function types used in the whole group lessons by teachers and students in the three grades.

From this figure, we can see that, in the kindergarten class, most teacher functions are control-initiations, in Event and Event Management, with inform-event and request-event second. In fourth grade, there is a decrease for the teacher in control language, and an increase in inform. There is a noticeable increase in give-response, which reflects an increase in the use of evaluation during a lesson. Request in Event and Event Management is similar for K and 4th grade. The 6th grade teacher shows a decrease in control language as well as a decrease in inform initiations. There is an increase in inform responses, as well as a noticeable increase in request-event. Students in the kindergarten class show most activity in inform-response-event, the next category being inform-initiation. In initiations, however, the kindergarten students show some activity in each major function category. This is in striking contrast to the 4th and 6th grade students whose language in whole group lessons is restricted to responses, mainly in the inform-event category. In the 4th and 6th grade whole group lessons, students do not initiate turns at talk. This comparison of major language functions suggests some trends in teacher-student interaction in the progress from kindergarten to 6th grade. When children are first learning about the rules of interaction appropriate for a school setting, the teacher clearly needs more control language and the children still deem it appropriate to initiate verbal contributions, including directives, when the whole group is assembled. By the 4th and 6th grades, the children have a good knowledge of interaction rules appropriate for whole group lessons--specifically, it is not appropriate to initiate a verbal contribution on one's own--one is to speak when given the right verbal cue from the teacher, and that is really the only time that one should speak. There are a few instances of other functions in responses. Unlike the kindergarten, however,

Figure 18: Comparison of Major Functions

	K									4								6							
	Initiation				Response				Total 250	Initiation				Response			Total 103	Initiation				Response			Total 197
	Ev.	Ev. Mgt.	Mgt. Pro.	Con. Com.	Ev.	Ev. Mgt.	Mgt. Pro.	Con. Com.		Ev.	Ev. Mgt.	Mgt. Pro.	Con. Com.	Ev.	Ev. Mgt.	Mgt. Pro	Con. Com.	Ev.	Ev. Mgt.	Mgt. Pro	Con. Com.	Ev.	Ev. Mgt.	Mgt. Pro.	Con. Com.
TOTAL FUNCTIONS																									
Teacher	39.2	24.4			6.8	2				37.8	9.7			27.1				36	4.0			25.8	1.5		
Students	8.8	4.4		2	12.4							.9		23.3	.9			.5				31.9			
MAJOR FUNCTIONS																									
Teacher																									
Inform	10.4	2			2.8					11.4	3.8			10.6				2.5				13.7	.5		
Control	18	20.8				.4				14.5	4.8			.9				6.5	4.0				1.0		
Request	10	.4			1.2					10.6	.9			2.9				25.3				2.0			
Give	.8	1.2			2.8	1.2				.9				12.6				1.5				10.1			
Modify																									
Students																									
Inform	4.4	.4		.4	11.6									22.3	.9							28.4			
Control	.4	2.8		1.6																					
Request	.4				.4									.9								.5			
Give	1.2																	.5				2.0			
Modify	2.4	1.2			.4							.9											1.0		

there are no instances of control language by 4th and 6th grade children.

These trends in teacher-student interaction are reflected in the types of teacher-student exchange identified in the whole group lesson. While both the teacher and the students make other verbal contributions in all three lessons, the objects of this analysis are the teacher-student exchanges that pertain specifically to the joint assembly by teacher and students of academic content. The analysis takes its departure from Mehan's work in the structure of classroom lessons. In his analysis of nine lessons, Mehan defined three types of instructional sequences: elicitations, informatives, and directives. Sequences were shown to have three distinct parts, i.e., an initiation, a reply, and an evaluation. Based on Mehan's analysis, all of the student-teacher exchange types were extracted from the three whole group lessons.

Figure 19 provides a summary of these exchange types. An attempt was made to take every structural difference into account between exchange types. That is, an exchange

T requ. pr./init./ev.
S pr./resp./ev.
T eval./resp./ev. (D)

is considered to be different from an exchange

T nominate/init./ev.
S pr./resp./ev.
T eval./resp./ev. (D_4)

Figure 19
Summary of Exchange Types, Whole Group Lessons

E	4	6
A T requ. pr./init/ev. S pro/resp/ev.	A T requ. pr./init./ev. S pr./resp./ev.	A T requ. pr./init./ev. S pr./resp./ev.
B T req. pr./init/ev. S pr./resp./ev. T repeat/resp./ev.	B_1 T nom./init./ev. S prod/resp./ev. T repeat/resp./ev.	A_1 T nominate;request pr./init/ev. S pr./resp./ev.
C T requ.choice/init./ev. S prod/resp./ev. T repeat/resp./ev.	D_1 T requ. pr./init./ev. S pr./resp./ev. T repeat/resp/ev. eval./resp/ev.	A_2 T requ. pr./init./ev. S_1 pr/resp./ev. S_2 pr/resp./ev. S_3 extend/resp/ev. S_4 confirm/resp./ev.
D T requ. pr./init/ev. S prod./resp./ev. T eval./resp./ev.	D_2 T invit to bid requ. pr/init./ev. nominate/init./ev. S prod./resp./ev. T repeat/resp./ev. eval/resp/ev.	A_3 T invit. to resp./init/ev. S pr./resp./ev.
E T invit. to bid requ. pr./init./ev.	D_4 T nom./init./ev. S prod./resp./ev. T eval./resp./ev.	A_4 T init. to resp./init./ev. S prod./resp./ev. T confirm/resp/ev. elab./resp./ev.
F T requ. pr./init./ev. S pr./resp./ev. T pr./resp./ev.	D_5 T nom./init./ev. S prod./resp./ev. T repeat/resp./ev. eval./resp./ev.	B T requ. pr./init./ev. S pr./resp./ev. T rep./resp./ev.
G T requ. pr/in./ev.-no resp. T requ. ch./in./ev.-no resp.	D_6 T invit. to bid/init./ev. nom./init./ev. S pr./resp./ev. T repeat/resp./ev. eval./resp./ev.	B_1 T invit. to bid/init./ev. nominate/init./ev. S prod./resp./ev. T repeat/resp./ev.
H T report/init/ev. S repeat/resp/ev.	D_7 T invit to bid; requ. pr./init./ev. . . . . S pr./resp./ev. T repeat/resp./ev. eval/resp./ev. S pr./resp./ev. T repeat/resp./ev. eval/resp./ev. etc.	D T requ. pr./init./ev. S prod./resp./ev. T eval./resp./ev.
I S report/init/lev. T requ. conf./resp./ev.		E T requ. pr./init./ev. S requ. turn/resp./ev. S prod. resp./ev.
J S report/init./ev. T extend/init./ev.		F T requ. pr./init./ev. S pr./resp./ev. overlap T pr./resp./ev.
K S report/init./ev. T confirm/resp./ev.		F_1 T requ. pr./init./ev. S prod./resp./ev. T prod./resp./ev. confirm/resp./ev. extend/resp./ev. S confirm/resp./ev.
L S explain/init./ev. T eval./resp./ev.		G_1 T requ. pr./init./ev.-no response
M S requ. turn/init./ev. T give turn/resp./ev. S report/init./ev.	E_1 T requ. pr./init/ev. extend requ./init/ev. give turn/init./ev. S pr./resp./ev. T repeat; eval./resp./ev.	M T requ. choice/init./ev. S choice/resp./ev.
		M_1 T requ. choice/init./ev. S choice/resp./ev. T elab./resp./ev.

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even though these exchanges differ only in the actual form of the teacher's initiation. The results of this analysis of exchange types can be synthesized as follows: In the kindergarten, 14 different exchange types were identified. In turn, these fall into two major categories: Exchange types A-H are all teacher-initiated exchange types. Specifically, in A-G, the teacher is requesting a product or a choice:

T: What does it mean?	T request product
S: It means to watch out for your own stuff in case you lose it.	S product response
T: Okay.	T evaluate

(Sixth Grade)

In H, the teacher is reporting information:

T: K— filled this, uh, cup... pan here with some rice.	T Report/init./event
S: Rice.	S repeat/response/event

(Kindergarten)

Exchange type G is interesting because while it may be a product or a choice request, it appears to have a more rhetorical function, as it elicits no response from the children.

Exchange types I-M are student-initiated, and consist of students reporting information to the teacher.

There are striking differences between the kindergarten exchange types and the fourth-grade ones. There are only three basic exchange types in the fourth-grade lesson, and the most common exchange type is a variation on D, i.e.,

T: What else?	T requ. pr./init./ev.
S: Your brain.	S pr./resp./ev.
T: Okay, the heart, the brain.	T eval./resp./ev.

(Fourth grade)

What appears to distinguish the D type is the presence of the overt evaluation of a student's contribution. This overt evaluation occurs only once in the kindergarten lesson. In the fourth grade lesson, the overt evaluation occurs frequently, and is preceded in six out of the seven exchange types by a verbatim repetition of the child's contribution by the teacher. Unlike the kindergarten lesson, there are no student-initiated exchanges either in fourth or sixth grade. It should be noted that in the instances of

T: What do you suppose these are?	T request product
S: Scales.	S product response
T: The scale.	T repeat response

the teacher's repetition of the child's response may indeed have a function similar to that described by Griffin and Humphrey (1978) as "covert evaluation."

In their analysis of whole group lessons in elementary school, Griffin and Humphrey propose the concept of covert evaluation as a way of accounting for elicitation-reply-evaluation exchanges in which the evaluation seems to be missing. An example of this in the present corpus is as follows:

T: How do you eat? It goes into your [what?]

S: [mouth]

T: It comes down to your [what?]

S: [throat.]

The teacher's second utterance is an elicitation on the same topic. Griffin and Humphrey argue that the very fact that the teacher continues on the same topic indicates that the answer has been accepted, that there is no need to interrupt the flow of the lesson with an overt verbal act:

> There exists a method by which teacher can covertly accomplish or demonstrate evaluation, and...this phenomenon must be a part of a classroom discourse interaction model, if that model is to depict what actually goes on in the classroom. That is, to accurately reflect the real nature of teacher-child interactions, a procedure must be available to describe not only what the participants in the lesson do verbally and non-verbally, but also how these verbal and non-verbal acts indirectly signal the accomplishment of other acts. (1978:119)

Their proposal is that the evaluation portion of the exchange is not missing, rather covertly accomplished by the continuance of the lesson by way of the next elicitation.

In our corpus, instances of the teacher repeating the child's response verbatim are more common than a child response followed immediately by an elicitation, and most commonly, the child's response is followed by both a repetition and an evaluation:

S: Your heart.
T: Your heart. Okay, what else?
S: Your brain.
T: Okay, the heart, the brain. (Fourth grade)

The teacher's repetition would seem to be a preliminary part of the overt evaluation, an entering of the child's contribution into the body of academic information that is being jointly assembled by the participants in the lesson. We suggest that it has a similar function to covert evaluation, because the teacher's repetition of a student's answer tells the student that the answer is appropriate before the actual overt comment is made. The teacher's repetition, in effect, legitimizes the child's contribution and enters it into the body of academic content that is being assembled.

In the sixth grade, seven exchange types are isolated, and they fall into two basic categories, i.e.,

Teacher request		Teacher request
Student respond	and	Student respond
		Teacher evaluate

Finally, in Figure 20, we see how the exchange types are distributed across the three lessons. A horizontal line indicates the occurrence of language unrelated to the exchange unit, such as

Figure 20

Comparison of Lesson Structure by Exchange Type

X	4	6
A	D2	D
A	D6	E
G1	D6	D;H
K	D3	F
A	D5	A
E	D4	G1
C	D2	A1
B	D7	D
M	A	D
G1	D1	A
G2	D1	B
A	A	H
A	D4	F
H	A	A
M1	E1	B
G1	A	A1
G1	A	A
A	A	D
G1	A	A
G1	A	B
H	A	A
L	A	H
I	A	H
D	A	D
G1	A	B
F	A	B;D
F	A	B
G1	A	B
J	A	F
B	A	B
	A	B
	A	A
	A	A
	A	B
	A	M1
	A	M1
	A	A
	A	G1
	A	A
	A	A3
	A	A
	A	A
	A	A
	A	A4
	A	G1
	A	N
	A	F1

management language or an extended summary by the teacher. Once again we see contrast among the three grades. There is a use of exchange types in K, but the flow of exchange types is frequently interrupted by management language, and there is a wide variety of types. In the sixth grade there is a much longer interval between interruptions and less heterogeneity of exchange types. Most striking is the fourth grade, with three exchange types and only two interruptions. The structure of this lesson, in comparison with the K and sixth grade, is very tight.

This comparison of lesson structure by exchange types seems to suggest that in the kindergarten class, the concept of the whole group lesson as a structured exchange of information between the teacher and students is present but not entirely operative. As mentioned earlier, the students still deem it appropriate to initiate turns--seven out of 30 exchanges are student-initiated. Furthermore, there are nine instances in the kindergarten of teacher initiations that have been described as rhetorical, because they elicit no response from the children. This may be because they indeed have a rhetorical function, that is, a function of providing cohesion in the lesson. They do not seem to be failed elicitations, because elicitations for which the teacher wants an answer are followed by a pause. Rather, they seem to have a function of modelling elicitation-type questions, so that the children can begin to know what kind of language the teacher will use in a whole group lesson setting. An example of this type of utterance is as follows:

T: Now what's happening? We've got too many weights over here.

The most common type of exchange between teacher and students is the D type, elicitation-response-evaluation, and by fourth grade, the students seem to know that a whole group lesson is an appropriate setting for use of that exchange. The A type that

occurs in fourth grade is simply elicitation-response, and the only variation is the one instance of E. Finally, while there is noticeably more variety in the sixth grade, out of 50 exchanges, 19 are of the A type, 11 of the B type, and seven of the D type--that is, variations on the basic Teacher Elicitation/Student Response/Teacher Evaluation. The key to the lesson structure in sixth grade seems to be that, by this time, the children have mastered situationally-appropriate behavior, and a variety of strategies can be used. The comparison across grades, then, seems to reveal a shift from learning of strategies through mastery to variation, a shift also reflected in the use of language functions.

Also related to the learning of situationally-appropriate functions and exchange types is the occurrence of dialect features in these whole group lessons. Six instances were noted in the kindergarten lesson (6/250 functions, 2%), and one instance each in the fourth- and sixth-grade lessons (1/103, 0.9% and 1/197, 0.5%, respectively). Furthermore, the instance in the fourth grade was provided by the teacher. These findings would seem to suggest that the whole group lesson setting is perceived to be inappropriate for the use of dialect features.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSIONS

The present project had as its overall goal a re-examination of dialect interference through the examination of dialect distribution on the basis of various language functions in elementary school classrooms. Major variables were grade level and language functions, the objective being to take the focus traditionally placed on language forms in the assessment of children's language ability, and place it on language functions. Activities in a kindergarten, fourth and sixth grade classroom were observed and videotaped, and events including whole group lessons, small groups with and without the teacher (of both an academic and a non-academic nature), and one-on-one interaction, were analyzed. While the individual sections of this report describe the occurrence of language functions and dialect features in all of the target segments, Figure 21 provides an overview of the findings.

From this overview, we see varied occurrence of dialect features and distribution of language functions both by grade and by event type. In the kindergarten, dialect features occur in all events and all function categories are represented in all events. In the fourth grade, by contrast, there are no dialect features in events with the teacher (whole group or small group--academic), and in events with the teacher, student talk is restricted to responses in the Inform and Request category. In fourth grade events without the teacher, dialect features occur, and language functions in all categories are used. In the sixth grade, there are no dialect features in the whole group and student talk is restricted to responses, again in the Inform and Request category. All functions are represented in the small group with teacher and there is a limited occurrence of dialect features, but student talk is restricted to responses and teacher talk to initiations. There are dialect features in the sixth grade one-on-one, and all function categories except Control are represented.

Figure 21
Overview of Findings

Grade Level	Event/Setting	Occurrence of Dialect Features	Distribution of Functions
K	Whole group	Yes	All function categories in Event initiation; varied distribution.
	Small group with teacher	Yes	All function categories represented variously.
	Small group without teacher	Yes	All function categories represented variously.
	One-on-one	Yes	All function categories rapresented variously.
4	Whole group	No	Initiation limited to Teacher (Inform, Control, Request); students respond only: Inform and Request.
	Small group with teacher, academic	No	Initiation limited to Teacher; students respond only: Inform; some Teacher response.
	Small group without teacher, academic	Yes	All function categories represented variously.
	One-on-one	Yes	All function categories represented variously.
6	Whole group	No	All functions represented, but only in Event: Teacher initiate, Student respond.
	Small group with teacher, academic	Yes (five instances)	All functions represented, but only in Event and Event Management: Teacher initiate, Student respond.
	Small reading group with teacher	No	Student talk mostly response--Event, Inform; Teacher initiate—Event and Event Management, all functions.
	Small group with teacher, nonacademic	No	Student talk mostly Event-response, Inform; Teacher--initiate-Event, all functions except Modify.
	One-on-one	Yes	Function categories represented all and only in Event, no instances of Control.

The conclusions of the study are as follows:

1. The participant structure of a given classroom event has an effect on the sheer amount of student talk. In events with the teacher, teacher talk is far more abundant than student talk, and student contributions are limited to responses to teacher initiations.

2. The participant structure of a given classroom event has an effect on the occurrence of dialect features and of functions in that event. Specifically, the presence of the teacher appears to be significant. In the fourth grade, there are no dialect features and restricted functional language use by students in events with the teacher. In the sixth grade, while there is some dialect use in a small group with the teacher, there is none in the whole group, and there is restricted functional language use in both events with the teacher. And in kindergarten, while there are dialect features in all events, there are significantly more in the events without the teacher. By contrast, in events without the teacher, the children in all three grades display competence with functions in all the major function categories, in both initiations and responses. Some children who contribute little or nothing in whole group settings contribute a lot in small group or one-on-one interaction.

3. There is a developmental progression in the use of dialect from kindergarten through fourth grade to sixth grade. It would appear that the children in kindergarten are still in the process of learning in which situations dialect is respectively appropriate or inappropriate. By fourth and sixth grade, that learning process is practically completed. The progression in the use of dialect is accompanied by a progression in functional language use, from student initiations and responses in all contexts with a wide range of functions in kindergarten, to a clear separation of initiations and responses and language functions according to setting in the fourth and sixth grades.

4. There is clear evidence of awareness in both the students and the teachers of situationally-appropriate language use. In the kindergarten, the children cannot verbalize this awareness but they display it through their use of dialect features that varies significantly according to setting. In the fourth and sixth grade, the situationally-different use is accompanied by the ability to talk about the awareness. The teachers share the awareness. While the sixth grade teacher overtly corrected some dialect features, the kindergarten and fourth grade teachers did not, at least in the presence of researchers and video equipment. There is a fairly discrete division in the sixth grade between features that are noticed and corrected (individual lexical items) and features that are not noticed or corrected (general rules). This division is paralleled in both the fourth and sixth grade by teacher and student descriptions of what gets noticed and corrected; that is, individual items. The range of dialect features used, then, is much wider than the range of features that receive overt attention.

5. Notwithstanding the clear awareness in both teachers and students of dialect diversity and the overt talk about dialect diversity, we have no basis for saying that there is linguistic interference that results from dialect diversity. The teachers and the students understand each other. There are repeated instances in the sixth grade classroom of the noticing and correction of dialect features. While this noticing and correction may interfere with an otherwise congenial classroom atmosphere and may thus constitute interference in social interaction, there is no evidence of communication breakdowns or misunderstandings attributable to the use of dialect features.

The findings of the study have implications in two areas. One is the overall assessment of children's language ability in the classroom. The study shows less overall volume of student talk in whole group settings, and a significantly wider range of language functions used in small groups or one-on-one interaction without the teacher. The implications are straightforward: an assessment of a child's language competence based on whole group interaction with the teacher might differ completely from an assessment of the same

child based on a small group or one-on-one setting. An assessment based on whole group simply provides a picture of the child's competence in that particular social setting. Such an assessment might totally misrepresent the child's overall competence. It would seem that a child's overall competence should take into consideration language use in a wide variety of settings, with and without the teacher present. We found, for example, that children not only use a wider range of functions in small groups and one-on-one settings, but that they also use language in the Event Management and Management Procedure categories. An examination of children's language use in situations without adults present will doubtless reveal a knowledge of social norms more fully-developed and sophisticated than examinations of situations with adults present have revealed.

Another area concerns the relationship of Standard English and dialect diversity in classrooms where children are dialect speakers. As we said, we do not have evidence for the interference of dialect in communication. At the same time, we noticed clear awareness of dialect diversity in both the children and the teachers. We also notice a much wider range of language functions and a greater volume of student talk in settings where dialect features occur and appear to be acceptable.

These observations raise the following questions: (1) Are the significantly diminished amount of student talk and significantly narrower range of language functions in whole group settings strictly a function of a whole group event with an adult present, and simply evidence for the successful learning of appropriate classroom behavior?

Alternatively, (2) Are the significantly increased amount of student talk and the significantly wider range of language functions in all but whole group settings with the teacher indicative of some interaction between the occurrence of dialect features and amount of talk? That is, even though not all language functions occur with dialect features in other than whole group settings, dialect is clearly acceptable in these settings. Does this acceptability account for the greater amount of student talk and wider range of functions? Dialect features do not occur in whole group settings with the teacher. Does the apparent inappropriateness of dialect in these settings

account for less student talk and a narrower range of functions? Does this suggest a principle whereby a child says to himself, "Dialect is not acceptable in this setting and since I'm not sure that I can say what I want to say in Standard English, I'll just keep quiet"?

We feel that this study can raise these questions but that the answers to them depend on further study. What is remarkable is that children do use a wide range of language functions in the settings where dialect is acceptable, even though these functions may or may not occur with dialect features. What we don't know is whether these children have access to the same range of functions in settings in which dialect features are inappropriate. Further study would necessarily investigate children's ability to use, in Standard English settings, language functions that occur here in dialect-appropriate settings.

Other questions raised by the study concern the relationship between teachers' understanding of the nature of dialect diversity and their assessment of children's language and cognitive abilities. We have described children's and teachers' awareness and overt discussion of dialect diversity. We also described a fairly discrete division between the features that speakers are aware of and that receive correction, and features that speakers do not mention and that do not receive correction. The difference between the two groups of features seems to be the difference between single lexical items and general linguistic rules. The point is that while all speakers are aware of dialect diversity and talk about it openly, both their level of awareness and their level of discussion remains linguistically fairly superficial and impressionistic.

These findings relate directly to those described by Lewis (1980) as a result of a program designed to improve language arts instruction for bidialectal Black students, teachers learned unexpected facts about the language of their students. For example, teachers discovered that students whom they had assumed were Black English-dominant were actually Standard English-dominant. Furthermore, many students were not limited to one variety. Does a teacher tend to evaluate a student's overall academic performance more positively if that student is perceived to be a Standard English speaker? Does information about dialect diversity affect assessment--for example,

following exposure to the nature of dialect diversity, do teachers noticeably separate assessment of academic ability from assessment of student language use? Is there a relationship between the level of teachers' understanding of dialect diversity, their assessment of academic ability, and the failure of some children in the educational system? This is certainly not the first study to raise these questions, and as we said, answers to these questions are clearly beyond the scope of this study. We would like to suggest that further research be undertaken on these questions, and that both elementary school curricula and pre-service teacher training curricula could greatly benefit by the inclusion, continuation or expansion in their content area of a systematic, thorough, and linguistically-sophisticated exposure to dialect diversity in the United States. Such exposure would faithfully represent the dialect diversity issues in all their complexity, and would provide students and teachers a sound sociolinguistic basis upon which to consider the dialect diversity that they encounter. Such exposure would include the phonological, morphological, syntactic and lexical aspects of dialect diversity, as well as the role of dialect diversity and language attitudes in educational assessment.

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APPENDIX I

STUDENT AND TEACHER INTERVIEW SCHEDULES

1. Names, ages, grade levels, how long at Slowe, elsewhere; Where live—neighborhood, elsewhere

2. Description of class—how many kids, who is friends with whom; who are good students, not so good; see each other after school or just at school—why?

3. (See second page.)

4. Do you talk differently at school than at home. Why or why not?

   Do you talk differently with your friends than with Mrs. ____? Why or why not?

   What kinds of things do you talk about in school? How do you get to talk? Does Mrs. ____ call on you a lot? Are you listened to?

   Where/When do you talk best (e.g., small group vs. big group)? Are there kids in this class who are good talkers—not so good talkers? Would you change the way you talk? Why?

3. ACADEMIC

How do you know how well you've done on your work?
Who corrects your work? (for 4th grade: exchanging of papers)
For 4th grade: What happens when somebody doesn't know a word?
How do you know what you're supposed to do today?
For 4th grade: What were the objectives? Do you always get them done?

3. ORGANIZATION OF SPACE

How/Why do you sit the way you do?
For 4th grade: How/Why do you file papers?

3. ORGANIZATION OF TIME

How much time do you usually get to do something? Is that enough time?
What usually happens during the day, from 9:00-3:00?
Why do you open school the way you do?
For 4th grade: Why do the newspapers get delivered every day?

3. MANAGEMENT

What are the rules of the classroom?
How do kids get in trouble in this class? Tell me about one time that somebody got in trouble.

FOURTH GRADE

Organization of Time

"The program" (Washington Post) vs. other time
Opening of school
Reading of objectives
Taking a break at 10:30
Getting ready for lunch and departure; lunch cards

Organization of Space

How/Why do you sit the way you do?
Seating arrangements by reading group? by text?
Filing of papers
Chairs up

Management

One finger over mouth to indicate silence
Getting bulletin board, standing behind it if in trouble
"When we want something, we do what?" "Raise our hands."
Prizes for children "who know how to control themselves and follow the rules we made up"
Going out in the hall
The rule that says that when one person talks, we'll sit
Counting, e.g., counting to 100 until we're quiet
What are our rules during recreational reading time?
You have to return a pencil to get a pencil--rules too about pencil sharpening
Rules about talking when sitting at tables
Lights
"Table of the week"
Gettings coming in and leaving
Lining up; line leader

4th Grade, continued

Organization of People

Seating arrangements: Group A, B, C, etc.; Group 1, 2, etc.
Working with reading teacher: How do they know who they are?
Same kids for 2 years
Roll call

Academic

Happy faces and checks
Clapping of syllables
Applause
"Corrected by"
Reading of objectives that are written on the board
Thinking caps
Recreation reading time
Pointer and reading off the board (overlap with objectives)

SIXTH GRADE

Organization of Time

Opening of school
Getting from one event to the next
Lunch cards

Organization of Space

Seating arrangements
Chairs up at the end

Organization of People

Ladies' Week vs. Men's Week
Voting: "What do you want for homework?"
Group sanctions

Management

Initials on the board to leave the room
Step out in the hall
Turn-taking
Lining up
"Bringing the class in"
Greetings at opening and closing

APPENDIX II

LANGUAGE FUNCTIONS INVENTORY:
DEFINITIONS AND EXAMPLES OF FUNCTIONS

I. INFORM

Define: Utterance consists of an explanation of the nature, meaning or essential qualities of a work, object, event, place, etc.

Example

T: "Okay, have your parents ever heard of a bric-a-brac?"

X: "It was a shelf that had some ornaments."

Y: "It was a shelf thing in the corner."

Example

X: "And you're going to talk about the drought and everything, okay? That means when you don't have enough rain."

Describe: The utterance denotes or depicts a representation of objects, events, places, etc.

Example

X: "This snake has a triangular head."

Example

X: "An' see this, I'm 'a describe it, lookin' for the snake with round spots all over his body."

Repeat: An utterance which exactly reproduces a previously-offered statement, either wholly or in part.

Example

X: "If she can do that, that's a miracle."

Y: "It's a miracle."

Report: Verbal introduction of factual or procedural information.

Example

X: "I got a good idea."

T: Those are all things that are centered around personal hygiene."

Y: "That one's the dangerous snake."

Explain: Process of verbally defining/distinguishing a concept, idea, or statement by clearly outlining the parameters of object of explanation; assumption is that some information is known, but need for clarification/specification exists.

Example

T: "Now in order for you to discuss it you are going to have to read it very carefully."

Elaborate: A verbal strategy whereby one adds details or descriptive information to an idea, concept or comment of a previous speaker; giving fuller treatment to a theme, topically related information; no new meaning.

Example

X: Then the real creature was doin' like this an' everybody was tryin' to put...

Y: That one is fake. This is the real one. Ain't no such thing.

Extend: Original utterance which expands or enlarges the scope of a previous comment, concept or idea; a previous comment is made more comprehensive; new meaning is added without direct reference to the current topic.

Example

X: "Look for the snake with diamond shapes all over his body."

Y: "Notice the rattle at the end of his tail."

Predict: An utterance forecasting or telling beforehand a verbal, behavioral, or situational outcome.

Example

X: "I bet I know what K. is gonna do."

II. RESPOND

Choice: Respondent agrees or disagrees with a statement provided by the questioner, or responds to choices provided by questioner.

Example

X: "Should I go on?"

T: "Yes."

Example

T: "Did you find hygiene in the book?"

Y: "Yes."

Example

X: "We readin' the Red Hen, right?"

Y: "Uh huh."

Product: Respondents provide a factual response such as a name, place, date, etc.

Example

X: "What was the Hen's name?"

Y: "Red Hen."

Example

T: "What were some of the things that you said you would do?

X: "Exercise."

Process: Respondent gives opinions or interpretations of objects, events, places, etc.

Example

T: "How did the story inspire you, R.?

X: "It made me wanna, uhm, when I grow up, become like...uhm, be a story teller or somethin'."

Metaprocess: Demands reflection about the process of making connections between elicitations and responses; one formulates the grounds for one's reasoning.

Example

X: "An' how can you tell a lizard from a snake?"

Y: "'Cause a lizard got these little things and a snake got that." (pointing to book)

II. CONTROL

Direct Directives: Utterance stated with intention to direct behavior of self or others; makes overt or direct reference to the issue at hand; imperatives.

Example

X: "Read to yourself, S.

Example

X: "Okay, close your books."

Indirect Directives: Makes indirect reference to the issue at hand; references to the action or to the outcome of the action in utterances that are not imperatives.

Example

T: "Okay, let's hear yours."

Example

T: "I want you to add some more to that."

Implied/Inferred Directives: Do not refer directly to the action or the outcome of the action; refer to the rights of the speaker, to the object in question, or to the reasonableness of the request.

Example

X: "You got a chance."

Example

Y: "I'm first."

Invitation to Bid: General question is directed to a group of respondents; anyone has option to respond.

Example

T: "Has anybody heard what he said about it?"

Example

T: "How many people have heard the word before?"

Individual Nomination: A particular person is selected to respond to a directive or question.

Example

T: "Okay, R., you tell us."

Transition Marker: Those comments or statements which serve to aid in continuing, refocusing, opening, closing, redirecting interactional sequences.

Example

X: "One last time."

T: "Now, ready."

X: "Alright, Hey y'all!"

X: "Wait a minute."

III. ASK/REQUEST

New Information

Choice: Calls upon the respondent to agree or disagree with a statement provided by the questioner; elicitation contains the information that the respondent needs in order to form the reply. (Mehan, p. 44)

Example

T: "Were you afraid of the turtle?" (yes/no)

Product: Asks respondents to provide a factual response such as a name, a place, a date, a color. (Mehan, p. 44)

Example

T: "When you touch a turtle, what happens to it?"

Process: Asks respondents to give opinion or interpretation of objects, events, places, etc.

Example

T: "Now why do you suppose he had it looking like that?"

Meta-process: Asks respondent to formulate grounds of reasoning; provide the rule or procedure by which arrived at or remembered answers.

Example

T: "And C., how did you remember where it was?"

Old Information (Requests for Clarification)

(1) Signals some problem in processing prior utterance, either in hearing or fully understanding; must immediately follow utterance being questioned. (2) Any utterance which can be intended as a strategy for getting clarification, from repetition of information to addition of information.

Repetition: Signals that there was a problem in processing the previous utterance and that the entire utterance or some part of it needs to be checked.

Example

X: "And how are they gonna know which set you're talking about?"

Y: "What?"

X: "How are they gonna know which set you're talking about?"

Specification: Made when some element in an utterance cannot be identified without further information as to what it is.

Example

X: "The movie is tonight."

Y: "When?"

X: "At 8:00."

Elaboration: Seek information that is pertinent, in some way understood, but unstated.

Example

X: "You get to put the chapstick on."

Y: "On what?"

X: "On her lips."

Y: "OK."

APPENDIX II

Request for Turn: Attempt to get a turn to talk; may be accompanied by non-verbal behavior, such as a raised hand.

Example

X: "Miss P! Miss P!"

Request for Permission: Self-explanatory. May be to peer or teacher.

Example

X: "Ooh, Can I be next?"

Request Feedback: Verbal or non-verbal solicitation addressed to peer or teacher for feedback on work or behavior.

Example

X: "Miss P. Look at mine. Miss P.

IV. GIVE

Evaluate: Self-evaluation and evaluation of others; implies external standard or norm and is governed by presumed positive knowledge.

Example

X: "Oh, oh great, that's great."

Comment/Opinion: Expression of feeling, preference or evaluation which is not judged or judgeable against an external standard or norm; does not imply positive knowledge.

Example

T: "I like that story. Do you like that?"

APPENDIX II

Offer: To display willingness to perform a service or give something.

Example

X: "Want me to, want me to make a backyard?"

Promise: Offer which contains a pledge for specific actions or things; must pledge something of value to the person being promised.

Example

X: "I'll give it back."

Thank: Expression of gratitude or appreciation and acknowledging favors, service, courtesy.

Example

T: "Thank you so much, T., for sharing your song with us."

V. MODIFY

Correct: Implied negative evaluation of fact or procedure.

Example

T: "And don't let me hear 'I didn't write nothing.' What is it supposed to be.?"

Complain/Protest: Statement of presumed prejudice, may or may not include intent to modify behavior.

Example

C: "Stop talkin', ya'll. At the same time."

Threat: Attempt to modify behavior with implicit or explicit statement of consequence of failure to modify.

Example

X: "I ain't gon' say no more."

Apologize: Expression of regret for having injured, insulted or wronged another person.

Example

T: "I'm sorry, C. They're not ready yet."

APPENDIX II

APPENDIX III

PROTOCOL TAPE

The protocol tape will be edited from the kindergarten corpus. It is tentatively entitled Learning How to Go to School, and is intended for use in pre-service teacher training. Portions of the following five segments will be included in the tape:

44A	A whole group discussion about planting
45A	Two girls playing house
46A	The teacher reads a story
47B, 48B	A whole group lesson about measuring
53A, 54	A whole group lesson: the strawberry drink project

The narration of the videotape will consist of a general discussion of children and teacher's functional language use in this kindergarten classroom, and of specific points to notice in each segment. The overall focus will be evidence of the teaching and learning in a kindergarten classroom of situationally-appropriate language strategies. The videotape will run between 15 and 25 minutes, and will be accompanied by a booklet. The discussion in the booklet will parallel the discussion on the tape, and the booklet will include exercises and references for further reading. The videotape will be disseminated for use specifically in the D.C. public schools.

APPENDIX IV

LANGUAGE DIVERSITY AND CLASSROOM DISCOURSE

QUESTIONNAIRE

Grade level if applicable_____Region_____

Position_____Number of years teaching experience_____

Educational Level Attained_____

Age_____ Sex_____ Ethnicity_____

****

1.A. What do you think are the major language and communication issues in the D.C. Public Schools?

B. Are any of these issues related to linguistics and/or cultural diversity? If so, which category does it fall into?

___ ethnicity
___ cultural styles
___ dialect
___ other (Please specify)

2.A. Reporting information (i.e. the answer to the question is...west) and requesting clarification (i.e. could you please repeat the question?) are two communicative skills required of a child in an elementary school setting. Please list several other communicative skills you think are required in this setting:

1.
2.
3.
4.

B. Do you think there are some communicative tasks that only children do and others that only teachers do? For example, (evaluating)

Teachers only	Children only
___ informing	___ informing
___ requesting	___ requesting
___ controlling	___ controlling
other _____	other _____

3.A. Can children's skill in performing communicative tasks be assessed?

___ yes
___ no

B. If so, how?

___ Written test
___ Oral interview
___ Observation

Other _____ (Please specify)

4.A. Are there some children who are more proficient than others at performing these communicative tasks?

___ Yes
___ No

B. If so, why?

5. Do you think communicative skills are something that should be overtly taught?

___ Should be ___ Shouldn't be
___ Can be ___ Can't be
___ Can and Should be ___ Shouldn't and Can't be

6.A. Can a child's <u>overall</u> academic ability be assessed by his/her language behavior?

___ Yes ___ No

B. If so, would such an assessment be based on:

___ What the child says
___ How much the child says
___ What communicative tasks he/she can perform

Other factors _____ (Please specify)

7.A. Do communication demands vary with the particular classroom event?

___ Yes ___ No

B. Do some communicative tasks occur:

___ Only in whole group lessons
___ Only in small groups
___ In all events

8. Are you regularly in contact with students who are dialect speakers or students who use both standard and non-standard forms?

Dialect Speakers	Both Standard and Non-Standard Forms
___ Yes	___ Yes
___ No	___ No

9. What are your criteria for determining if a student is a dialect speakers?

___ Peer group
___ Income level
___ Socioeconomic status
___ Ethnicity
___ Place of residence
___ Specific language forms--PLEASE give examples:

10.A. Which interactional settings are dialect features or non-standard forms more likely to occur in?

___ one-on-one conversation
___ small grous, of non-academic nature
___ small groups, of academic nature
___ reading groups
___ whole group lessons

B. How do you account for this?

11.A. How do you feel about the role of dialect in the teaching/learning process?

___ a hindrance to the teaching/learning process
___ an asset to the teaching/learning process
___ of no consequence to the teaching/learning process

B. Why is this?